HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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But Where's the Campaign?

McCarthy Headquarters Still Raising Money

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

The elections are long over, but Sen. Eugene McCarthy still seems to be busily running for something—or other!

Although currently keeping out of the limelight, the poetry-spouting Minnesota "peacenik" still has both a campaign headquarters and a full-fledged fund-raising committee. Both are hush-hush, but give every evidence of being actively at work.

The secrecy-cloaked headquarters is located in a $47.50-a-day suite in the small, swank Capitol Hill Hotel, on a corner directly opposite the Senate Office Buildings.

The equally unpublicized fund-raising organization is an officially registered political finance committee titled "The McCarthy Donors Fund." Its office is listed as 301 First St., N.E.—the address of the Capitol Hill Hotel. In other words, the $47.50-a-day campaign headquarters also houses the money-raising committee—a neatly cosy set-up.

According to the McCarthy Donors Fund's report to the House Clerk, as of November 10 it had received $67,605.80, and disbursed $66,800.

The money came from 99 contributors, 34 of them women, a number of them single. Also eight McCarthy for President organizations. Twenty-eight contributors were from New York state.

The Nixon Administration

For a full report on the Nixon Cabinet and his White House staff see pages 3 and 6.

NEWSPAPER

The three largest listed donors are Mrs. Martin Scheiner, Pleasantville, N.Y., $2,000; Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Gagarin, Litchfield, Conn., $1,000 (he is a manufacturing executive); and Alfred Taylor, 3700 North Capitol St., N.W., Washington, $1,000. There is something curious about this last contributor.

There is no such address in the capital. Similarly, neither the name nor address are in the telephone book.

The listing of this contribution is either a mistake or a fake.

Topping the list of recipients is the McCarthy Finance Committee, Washington, $15,000—nearly a fourth of the $67,605.80 reported by the fund. There is no explanation of the nature and function of this committee, who heads it, who determined this big hand-out and why.

Similarly unexplained are two other sizable recipients—the D.C. Committee for Better Government, $5,000, and the Joseph Diroff Committee, Boston, $1,000.

Mrs. Susan King prepared the financial report, admitted being in the dark about these organizations and why they got the money. At first she "guessed" the Diroff Committee was a liberal Republican organization, and then thought it might have had something to do with Iowa Gov. Harold Hughes' successful campaign for the Senate.

Finally she remarked, "They're all paper committees, anyway. They probably just ran out of names, and named it that."

Mrs. King evinced curiosity as to how the inquirer learned about the Donors Fund, saying, "That's been a quiet one. How did you find out about it?"

She didn't learn the source of the information.

Mrs. King's connection with the report is noteworthy. She works for the liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress, whose headquarters is in New York City. The committee and the McCarthy Donors Fund are closely allied on money-raising and other activities.

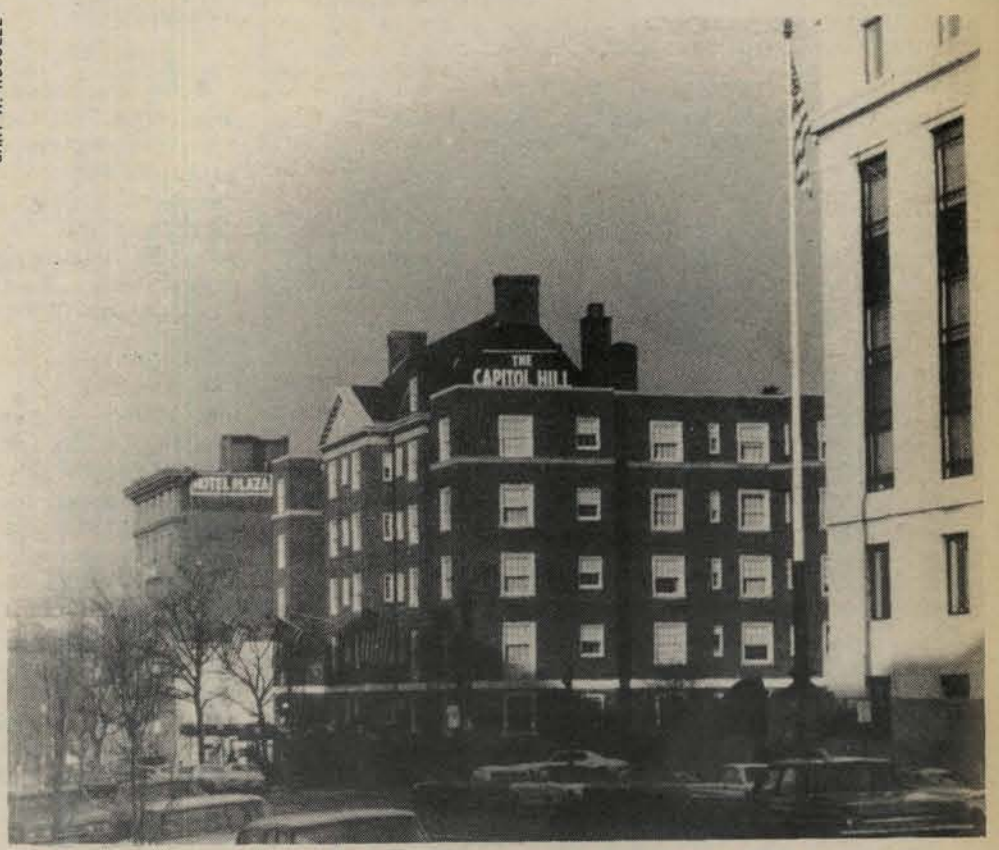
Mrs. King's vagueness about the identity of these recipients was echoed by Lee Higbee, McCarthy's press secretary, concerning the officials of the Donors Fund.

According to him, the chairman of the fund "technically" is "Jerry Eller, one of the senator's aides." Then Higbee added, "There really is no set chairman, but Jerry could be considered the chairman."

Earlier, Higbee described Sen. McCarthy's connection with the Donors Fund as "primarily to raise money for Senate and House candidates he favored." Higbee did not explain why, in view of that, Eller, an aide on McCarthy's congressional payroll, "could be considered the chairman [of the fund]."

However, Higbee did say the fund is still in business. "It's still accepting donations," he said cheerily.

GARY W. RUSSELL



Shown here is the plush Capitol Hill Hotel, where Sen. Eugene McCarthy's staffers are still processing campaign donations. At right is the New Senate Office Building, just one block from the Capitol grounds. Ironically, the same building used to house the Quorum Club of Bobby Baker fame.

The other beneficiaries of the fund were "peacenik" candidates for Congress, who received amounts ranging from $500 (J. Buford Johnson, St. Cloud, Minn., unsuccessful Democratic aspirant for the House) to $7,500 each to Sen. Wayne Morse, still challenging his narrow defeat in Oregon, and John Gilligan, decisively licked by Republican William Saxbe for the Senate in Ohio.

Also singled out for generous treatment was David Hoeh, ardent McCarthyite defeated by Rep. James Cleveland (R.-N.H.). Hoeh got $6,500. The report shows that for some unexplained reason, $5,000 was dished out to him the day before the November 5 election.

All telephone calls to the $47.50-a-day Capitol Hill Hotel suite are referred to McCarthy's Senate office.

Similarly, the hotel clerks are uncommunicative about revealing anything regarding the suite—who pays for it, how many work there, what they do and other details.

It has been definitely learned that McCarthy has been renting the suite "since before June."

But apparently he is an infrequent visitor. One pert young secretary, answering a reporter's questions from the doorway of the suite, said, "The senator rarely comes here. I've only seen him a few times, and then he didn't stay long. Of course, he might come here at night, but I wouldn't know about that."

From a glimpse through the firmly guarded doorway could be seen a number of desks, typewriters, file cabinets and stacks of what appeared to be campaign literature and other material. Four or five girls and several men were in the suite.

Presumably, their salaries and other expenses are paid by the fund.

The report doesn't show that, and Higbee wouldn't discuss it. McCarthy has been unavailable to Washington newsmen since last month's election. His office says he is busy writing a book on his unsuccessful campaign for the White House.

Top among the contributors to the Donors Fund were—Citizens for McCarthy, Glencoe, Ill., $1,000; Citizens for McCarthy, Houston, Tex., $700; Miss Barbara Tuckman, New York City, $500; Mrs. Theodore Bayles, Waston, Mass., $500; Miss Edith Goode, Washington, D.C., $500; Joseph Pomerance, Cos Cob, Conn., $500; Mrs. Eleanor Heltzél, Philadelphia, $400; Alfred Loeb, New York City, $366.41; Theodore Edison, West Orange, N.J., $300; Naomi St. John, Zenith, Wash., $300; Katrina Barnes, Carbondale, Colo., $400; William B. Field Jr., New York City, $250; Milton Klein, Larchmont, N.Y., $250; David Norr, New York City, $500.

Following Sen. McCarthy's appearance at a meeting of dissident priests in Washington several weeks ago, he has done nothing further publicly in this movement. However, one of the leading dissenters says McCarthy has been "talking to bishops" in their behalf.

So far, there is no indication what effect that has had.

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Capital Briefs

● Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) had a major hand in persuading Nixon's law partner **John Mitchell** to take the attorney general post. Mitchell is believed to be sympathetic to the South and is a strong believer in law and order.

● Nixon intimates say that the President-elect's campaign promise to "clean house" in the **State Department** was no idle pledge. He's still determined to implement that goal, they believe, and has already made arrangements to bring into the government some tough, no-nonsense men who can do the job. (For more on the problem, see page 7.)

● One interesting fact concerning Nixon's Cabinet choices: all those liberal pundits who were swearing up and down the line that **Nelson Rockefeller** was definitely lined up for a Cabinet job turned out to be wrong. These same liberals, it may be recalled, were also insisting that Nixon would turn to Rocky, Lindsay or Percy for his vice presidential choice.

● In addressing the mayors in New Orleans last week, Vice President-elect **Spiro T. Agnew** blasted the policy of permitting the poor to run the poverty programs and said aid to those community action programs made for the "greatest waste" of federal funds and was an "open invitation to disaster." After listening to Agnew, Milwaukee's ultra-liberal mayor, Henry Maier, said: " . . . if I had any stock in the Office of Economic Opportunity, I'd sell it."

● Modern Republican **Hugh Scott,** busily campaigning for the post of Senate GOP Whip, says the party needs a "youthful new image." Whether Scott represents the youth movement is dubious. The Pennsylvania senator is 68—four years older than his conservative opponent for the Whip post, Roman Hruska of Nebraska. Not surprisingly, Scott declines to list his age in the Congressional Directory.

● At least three GOP congressmen are angling for the House leadership position that Nixon Defense boss Mel Laird is vacating. Representatives **John B. Anderson** (Ill.), **William Cramer** (Fla.) and **Richard Poff** (Va.) are all interested in the post, chairman of the House Republican Conference. Poff and Cramer, both Southerners, are discussing jointly which should try for the job.

● One of the biggest losers in the November balloting was a Harvard faculty member who sought no office. Figures filed with the New York Secretary of State disclosed last week that Harvard instructor **Martin Peretz** and his wife, Anne, had contributed $95,780 to the unsuccessful Senate campaign of peace Democrat Paul O'Dwyer. Peretz and his wife, heiress to the Singer Sewing Machine millions, bankrolled the leftist Ramparts magazine until it supported the Arabs in the Mideast conflict.

● **Mrs. Eldridge Cleaver,** wife of the convicted rapist and herself a member of the infamous Black Panthers, says she once worked in Washington in the public relations department of the Peace Corps.

● With the naming of George Romney, John Volpe and Walter Hickel to the Nixon Cabinet, three states—**Michigan, Massachusetts and Alaska**—will be without governors. However, in each state a Republican will replace the outgoing chief executive: Lt. Gov. William Milliken in Michigan, Lt. Gov. Francis Sargent in Massachusetts and Secretary of State Keith Miller in Alaska.

● Alaska will also be getting a new U.S. senator with the death, at age 64, last week of incumbent Democrat **Edward L. Bartlett.** Whichever Republican governor makes the appointment to fill the vacated seat, he is expected to choose a member of his own party, with GOP Rep. Howard Pollock and Anchorage Mayor Elmer Rasmuson the chief contenders.

● **Teddy Kennedy,** who seems likely to be the next Democratic nominee for President, continues the irresponsible rhetoric that marked so many of the speeches of Bobby and Jack before him. In dedicating a Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center in Morgantown, W. Va., last week, Teddy cautioned his audience against the "fear of crime" and profusely lauded the "wisdom, patience and compassion" of Ramsey Clark, the only attorney general in America who seems to have been opposed to punishing criminals.

● Not only liberals, but conservatives, too, are sharply critical of the House Appropriations Committee's use of **FBI agents** to probe the accuracy of reports that there is widespread hunger in the United States. With the crime rate soaring, it is argued, how in the world can the FBI spare its trained agents from crime fighting and permit them to be used for gathering statistics on hunger claims?

● Mrs. **Nguyen Thi Binh,** head of the Communist National Liberation Front delegation to the Paris peace talks, was in a very "conciliatory" mood last week. If her party came to power, she magnanimously said, it would be perfectly willing to grant diplomatic recognition to Washington and accept "economic and technical assistance" from the United States.

● The complete 1968 election returns show Richard Nixon polled nearly half a million more popular votes than Hubert H. Humphrey—**499,704 votes** more, to be precise. Thus Nixon's plurality over HHH is about four times the margin by which JFK defeated Nixon in 1960.

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Nixon Heading Starboard?

Having picked his Cabinet and filled out key White House jobs, Richard Nixon appears to have charted a moderately rightward course for his Administration over the next four years. While there is much to be desired from a conservative standpoint, objective observers acknowledge that there is far more than a "dime's worth of difference" between the Nixon personnel and those selected by LBJ or those who would have been tapped by Hubert Horatio Humphrey.

No one, of course, can say for sure which way the new Administration will eventually head, but the Nixon appointments strongly suggest that the President-elect has every intention of carrying out his campaign pledges for stricter law enforcement, a stronger American military posture and a slow-down in inflation.

John Mitchell, Nixon's selection for attorney general, is known to have a "J. Edgar Hooverish" view on law enforcement. A partner in Nixon's law firm, he comes highly recommended for his new position by several conservative sources, including Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.).

Mitchell is not only expected to crack down on organized crime, but he is thought to be eager to tighten up on internal security measures and put an end to the street revolutions provoked by both radical whites and blacks. The new anti-riot law passed by Congress last year over the objections of the current attorney general will give him an opportunity to incarcerate those who cross state lines for the purpose of stirring up violence.

Nixon's choice of Mel Laird for the defense post (see story below) and the appointments of Henry Kissinger and Richard V. Allen as White House advisers on foreign affairs strongly suggest that the President-elect is also determined to toughen U.S. policy in the face of Communist aggression. All three men have made it quite clear they believe in stepped-up psychological, economic and even military pressures against Red tyranny.

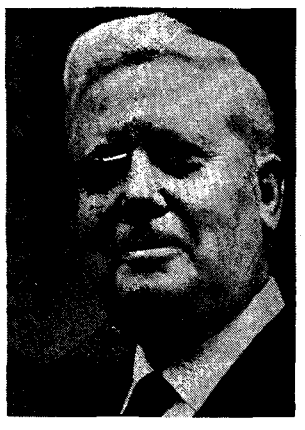
The new President has also revealed his desire to put an end to the "Johnson inflation" by virtue of his choices for crucial positions dealing with the U.S. economy.

David Kennedy, who will be Nixon's secretary of the treasury, is described by the *Wall Street Journal* as having a "distinct distaste for downtown riots, present anti-poverty programs, federal red ink and tinkering with the government-fixed price of gold." He is also for balanced budgets, cuts in spending and has expressed strong opposition to "gimmicks" which disguise the real size of the budget.

Kennedy has amassed a store of Washington experience. He has served as both a lawyer and an economist on the staff of the Federal Reserve Board prior to joining Continental Illinois Bank & Trust Co. in 1946. Since then he has put in a stint as the Treasury's top debt manager.

The new budget director, Robert Mayo, reportedly shares many of Kennedy's ideas and is one of his vice presidents at the Chicago Bank.

Nixon's chief economic adviser, Paul McCracken, also believes that inflation is this country's major worry. And all three seem to agree that the best way to combat it is through balanced budgets, less federal spending and a slowdown in the expansion rate of the money supply. All three men, moreover, will be aided in their anti-inflation efforts by the fact that William McChesney Martin, head of the Federal Reserve Board, sees eye to eye with them on this and many other issues.



KENNEDY

MAYO

There are other signs that a Nixon Administration will probably take on a conservative coloration. White House aide Martin Anderson and Richard Cornuelle, a task force chairman on voluntary programs, are helping to devise non-governmental programs to aid the urban poor. HEW Secretary-designate Robert Finch, incidentally, is a close friend of Cornuelle's

and has been impressed with his belief that many of the problems we now face can be solved with little or no effort by the federal government. Even Patrick Moynihan (see story below), Nixon's chief White House adviser on urban affairs, is wary of relying on the federal government in every crisis.

Maurice Stans (secretary of commerce), Harry Dent, a White House aide and former Thurmond assistant, and Patrick Buchanan, a Nixon speechwriter, are other conservatives who have the President's ear.

Obviously, it is still much too early to tell which way the country will go under Nixon, but—judging from the first important appointments—conservatives should find much that is pleasing in a Nixon Administration.

Rocky Left at the Altar

The liberal wing of the Republican party suffered a big defeat last week when Nixon failed to appoint Nelson Rockefeller to any position in the Cabinet. Ever since Nixon's election triumph, liberals, both in and out of the GOP, have been pushing the President-elect to tap the New York governor for a top job, but Nixon managed to resist the pressures.

ROCKEFELLER

The governor himself dropped a bushel of hints that he was available, but Nixon turned a deaf ear. On election night, in fact, the governor tried to see Nixon in the hope that he might be offered a job, but Nixon left word not to be disturbed. In the morning—after it was clear Nixon had won—the President-elect called Rocky to thank him for his campaign support, but gave no indication that he wanted him to work in Washington.

In case Nixon wasn't sure about his intentions, Rocky let drop to the press the "news" that he would look kindly upon any offer to serve as secretary of defense or state. After planting these hints, he sat back confidently waiting for the phone to ring, but it never did. The governor then began to protect himself against the humiliating snub by publicly declaring that he liked being governor and was inclined to continue in that capacity. Still no word from Nixon.

Late in November, however, John Mitchell, Nixon's campaign manager, telephoned Rocky's political adviser, George Hinman, and asked what all the talk was about Rocky staying on as governor. Hinman then threw out a hint of his own: Mitchell and Nixon, he stressed, should not attach too much weight to such remarks and that Rocky had said he would consider a Cabinet offer. If Nelson's hopes were buoyed by the call, they were soon to be deflated.

A few days later, on November 26, Nixon conferred with Rocky in the New York apartment house in which they live, but the President-elect talked mostly about urban affairs. Sensing no job offer was coming, Rocky said he felt he could best serve the country by remaining as governor. Nixon accepted the statement.

As the conversation drew to a close, Nixon made an oblique reference to the possibility that Rocky could serve as ambassador to the United Nations, but the governor was less than enthusiastic.

Rocky, say some observers, might have gotten a job if he had really demanded one; in fact, Rodman, his son, told friends that his father was under the impression he could have the secretary of defense post if he really wanted it. But the catch was that Rocky would have had to come hat in hand to Nixon, not the other way around. Nixon apparently relied on the belief that Rocky would be too proud to come to him—and he was.

Such is the manner in which Nixon apparently dealt the Big Daddy of liberal Republicanism out of a position in the new Administration.

• Back on November 2, *Human Events* accurately foresaw Rocky's failure to get a job with Nixon. As our lead item on page 2 read: "Political insiders say there is virtually no chance that Gov. Nelson Rockefeller will wind up with a Cabinet post in a Nixon Administration. The GOP presidential candidate, says one Nixon adviser, has made that very clear in private conversations."

Strong Man at Defense Helm

The selection of Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.) to be boss of the Pentagon strongly suggests that the President-elect has every intention of carrying out his campaign promise to give the United States clear-cut military superiority of the Communist nations.

A conservative with an 89 per cent rating on the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) scoreboard, Laird has expressed a philosophy close to that of the military chieftains in his 10 years on the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee. As Barry Goldwater's choice for chairman of the platform committee at the 1964 Republican National Convention, he was instrumental in setting the hard-hitting tone of that document.

Judging from his recent position statements, the Wisconsin lawmaker can be expected to reverse the disarmament trend imposed on the Pentagon by former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara. And McNamara's Defense Department "whiz kids" can be expected to be moved out rapidly.

Since the advent of McNamara, Laird has been in clear disagreement with the belief that armed conflict with the Soviet Union is less likely if the Soviets achieve nuclear parity with the United States. "We believe," Laird said on June 13, 1967, "that the threat from world communism has not eased and that, therefore, it is of the utmost importance that this nation maintain a decisive superiority in offensive and defensive weapons."

Laird was also an early critic of McNamara's failure—until his very last days in the Defense Department—to push ahead with an anti-ballistic missile system. "The weakest area of our U.S. strategic military posture is, in my judgment, the lack of an effective ABM and an adequate fallout shelter program," Laird said during fiscal 1966 budget hearings.

As he indicated in a major speech to Congress on June 28, 1966, the new defense chief can be expected to approve additional nuclear submarines which

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McNamara held down because of "arms control" theories, accelerate plans to transform the surface Navy into a nuclear one, push for a vigorous military program in space—also blocked by McNamara—and spur on a Pentagon plan to move faster on the advanced manned strategic aircraft (AMSA).

Laird, moreover, is not just a military-hardware man. His counsel on foreign policy, if it is followed, should have the effect of stiffening our spine in resisting Communist aggression.

In his speeches and in his book, *A House Divided*, Laird makes plain that he thinks the United States should take a tough stand against Red encroachments. He particularly admires the way Ike ended the Korean War by threatening to blockade the Chinese coast, take over North Korea and use tactical nuclear weapons.

Like Nixon, Laird also believes the Soviets will respond to economic pressures. In a speech to the Congress on March 23, 1967, Laird called for economic pressures against Communist countries aiding North Viet Nam. As he said: " . . . trade is truly a weapon and there are those of us who feel that the proper utilization of economic weapons such as trade in prosecuting the Cold War could avert the eruption of hot wars such as that which is presently bogging us down in Viet Nam."

All in all then, Rep. Laird should provide some wise leadership in the Nixon Administration.

Moynihan: Maverick Liberal

Nixon's selection of Daniel Patrick Moynihan to be the chief White House adviser on urban affairs has irritated a number of GOP politicos who had hoped the President-elect would have singled out a more conservative individual, perhaps along the lines of Dr. Martin Anderson, another city expert—and also a White House aide—who authored the anti-urban renewal volume, *The Federal Bulldozer*.

MOYNIHAN

Moynihan, for example, will unquestionably put the pressure on Nixon to have Congress pass some of his pet ideas, such as a direct allowance for all families with minor children, a rebuilding of riot-torn areas and the use of the government as an employer of last resort.

Nevertheless, Moynihan has some iconoclastic views for a man who calls himself a liberal Democrat. In 1967, for instance, Moynihan argued before the Americans for Democratic Action that "Liberals must divest themselves of the notion that the nation, especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington."

In urging liberals to make an alliance with conservatives on some issues, Moynihan declared: "Somehow liberals have been unable to acquire from life what conservatives seem to be endowed with since birth—namely, a healthy skepticism of the powers of government agencies to do good. The American national government is a superb instrument for redistributing power and wealth in our society. One person in 10 in the United States, for example, now gets a Social Security check each month. But as an instrument for providing services, especially to urban lower-class Negroes, it is a highly unreliable device."

Moynihan has also been sharply critical of the "War on Poverty," has favored increased state and local control over domestic activities and has struck out against fellow liberals who find that no Negro can do anything wrong. Liberals, he has said, "must somehow overcome the curious condescension which takes the form of sticking up for and explaining away anything, however outrageous, which Negroes individually or collectively, might do."

The chief value of Moynihan, then, seems to be that he is obviously not wedded to the rhetoric, platform and policies that liberal Democrats have pushed for so many years. Thus, there is hope Mr. Moynihan will come up with a number of solutions to our urban problems that can be used by a Nixon Administration which has promised to slash the power of the federal government.

Panthers Donate Cash to NLF

After a tip from *Human Events*, the Treasury Department has promised to look into the possibility of getting the Justice Department to prosecute members of the insurrectionary Black Panther movement. The reason: Panther leaders have probably violated the terms of the Trading With the Enemy Act.

SEALE

Virtually unreported by the press is the story of how national chairman Bobby Seale and his Black Panther terrorist group recently took charge of the Hemispheric Conference to End the War in Viet Nam, a pro-Communist conclave that gathered November 28-December 1 in Montreal, Canada. According to eyewitness reports, including two undercover observers at the conference for *Human Events*, the rabble-rousing Seale on December 1 turned over to agents of the National Liberation Front (NLF) more than $300 in cold cash that the Panthers had raised from the 2,000 persons who attended the conference. The transfer of funds took place at Edouard Monpetit Junior College in Longueuil, a Montreal suburb.

These reports are substantiated in an article by Philip Winslow in the December 2 issue of *The Gazette*, a Montreal paper. Winslow relates that "The Black Panthers gave the National Liberation Front $359, and an 80-year-old lady from America gave the Vietnamese a check for $2,000." (The lady was unidentified.)

When apprised of these Panther activities, Stanley Sommerfield, chief counsel of the Foreign Assets Control Office in the Treasury Department, informed *Human Events* that persons participating in turning money over to the NLF could be prosecuted under the Trading With the Enemy Act and receive as much as 10 years in jail and/or a $10,000 fine. Sommerfield, who has been forwarded material relating to the incident, said he would definitely look into the case.

Attending the violently anti-U.S. conference were Communists, Maoists, Trotskyites, SDS leaders and various other Marxist-oriented groups and individuals.

Of the approximately 2,000 persons who came, there were roughly 900 Americans, 800 Canadians,

SPOCK

DELLINGER

60 Latin Americans and scattered groups from the Caribbean. North Viet Nam was represented by a five-man delegation and the NLF by two men. Such U.S. Communists as Bettina Aptheker and Sam Kushner arrived, as well as Australian "reporter" Wilfred Burchett, who defended the North Vietnamese against charges of religious discrimination. Canadian Raymond Boyer, convicted of turning over state secrets to the Soviets in the 1940s, was an adviser to various workshops. Sponsored by such individuals as Dr. Benjamin Spock and David Dellinger, the conference also reported receiving well-wishing telegrams from Sen. Eugene McCarthy and Mrs. Martin Luther King.

Perhaps the basic pro-Communist nature of the conference could best be gathered from an incident at the initial session when chairman Laurier LaPierre, *a la* Khrushchev, removed his shoe and used it for a gavel.

Despite the smallness of their number, however, it was the Panthers who dominated the pro-NLF, anti-U.S. conclave. Clad in their black berets and black boots, the Panthers prowled the convention, at times arbitrarily seized the platform and assumed charge of security measures. When a minority faction wanted to denounce the Soviets for the Czech invasion, a clutch of Panthers, given moral support by the North Vietnamese, threatened the faction into silence.

It was Panther pressure, furthermore, which enlarged the scope of the program to include not only the Viet Nam question, but "imperialism" all over the world, including that which "the United States practices against its own black minority."

On the last day of the session, Bobby Seale electrified the audience when he told the gathering that the American police were occupying the black ghettos with the same brutality that American soldiers were trying to occupy Viet Nam. And, he added, the police would be resisted in the same fashion as the Viet Cong have resisted the United States.

After holding workshops aimed at promoting revolutionary goals in the United States and elsewhere, the conference came to a tumultuous climax with American delegates handing their draft cards to North Vietnamese and Viet Cong representatives to burn. With a small bonfire burning on stage, a rousing cheer went up from delegates and observers who gave a clenched-fist salute.

Rogers: Unknown Quantity

Politicos in the Nation's Capital were rather mystified last week when the President-elect chose former Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers as secretary of state. Rogers, an old Nixon friend, has very little foreign policy experience and he is considered to tilt toward the liberal side in many areas. For instance, he is reported to be in favor of scrapping the Connally Reservation and has made a number of speeches sharply critical of South Africa.

One very conservative lawyer, however, describes Roberts as highly capable and recalls that he was very sympathetic toward tightening security procedures in the government. Rogers was known to have favored revoking the top secret clearance of nuclear physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, for example, despite the howls of the liberal community.

His past attitude on such matters, it is hoped, may mean he will welcome a clean-up in the State Department and lend a sympathetic ear to Otto Otepka. Nonetheless, Rogers essentially remains a question mark and there are those who believe that such a novice will find himself at the mercy of the entrenched State Department bureaucracy.

The Powell Whitewash

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) has charged "whitewash" after the failure of a federal grand jury last week to take a vote on whether to indict the flamboyant Harlemite, Adam Clayton Powell.

GROSS

"I am advised," said Rep. Gross, "that dismissal of a grand jury before it resolves the question it was impaneled to investigate is virtually unheard of.

"Here is a grand jury which, after conducting an exhaustive investigation, is dismissed and disbanded without taking a vote to either indict or not indict Powell. This is outrageous."

The Iowa solon said he received reports in November that Clark would permit the grand jury to go out of business without voting, but when he wrote the attorney general, said Gross, he "failed to receive even a routine acknowledgment."

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Ultra-leftist activist and SDS founder Tom Hayden recently testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. For him, it was a relatively low-key performance.

HCUA Needs a New Mandate

Committee handicapped in investigations

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Admission was restricted to possessors of pink tickets doled out only to witnesses, the press, and carefully screened visitors. Inside the small committee room, 12 policemen watched a total of 37 spectators. The press tables were crowded but there were empty seats in the public section.

Elsewhere in the nation, violence erupted. Teen-agers assaulted teachers and bombarded police with rocks and bottles in Brooklyn. Jeering students tangled with a "get-tough" acting president of a San Francisco college.

Here, there were precautions against violence where, it soon became apparent, the greatest threat was boredom. Tom Hayden, a 28-year-old revolutionary, the first witness, has exhorted youth to "let the blood flow" in the past. Now, he occasionally addressed his questioners as "you racists" but there was no passion in the epithet.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities was exploring the causes of violence during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last August. It was uncovering nothing that was new and little of value to Congress in facing up to the menace of terrorism fostered by militant leaders of the New Left.

Nobody was more aware of this than Chairman Richard H. Ichord (D.-Mo.), and Rep. John M. Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), the top-ranking minority member of the committee.

They were aware that Hayden's air of tired insolence was based on his knowledge that the committee was operating under an outdated mandate to investigate "un-American propaganda activities . . . instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin" and designed to attack "the form of government guaranteed by our Constitution."

Ichord and Ashbrook had sought to remedy this defect by sponsoring a bill to extend the committee's jurisdiction to cover all activities or organizations, whether of foreign or domestic origin, which use force, violence, or terrorism to assist in the overthrow of the government or to obstruct enforcement of any law affecting the nation's internal security.

This measure was cleared for a vote in the House when a few right-wing organizations, misinterpreting the proposal as a "conspiracy" to abolish the committee (its name would have been changed to "Committee on Internal Security"), launched a letter-writing drive to kill it. This scare campaign in an election year was successful. The bill was never brought up for a vote.

Liberal members of Congress were delighted. The committee, because of a long line of Supreme Court decisions, has been virtually limited to investigating Communist groups shown to be under Moscow's domination. Now, it would continue under this handicap.

Thus, to justify an inquiry into the Chicago violence, the committee was forced to center its probe on the influence of Communist party members on the scene. Hayden airily conceded Communists were present but he remarked, with a trace of contempt, that he doubted they could keep up the pace.

"There he spoke the truth," commented Donald T. Appell, the committee's chief investigator. "The old-line Communists, devoted to setting up a Soviet America, are trying to capitalize on the current disorders, but they lag far behind these native-born American advocates of destruction leading to anarchy. The committee needs to have its authority broadened to investigate a truly revolutionary movement."

Hayden completed his testimony with a four-letter obscenity, a final expression of his scorn for a committee virtually powerless to investigate his leadership of a movement which rejects all forms of authority and has only one goal—senseless destruction.

For this immunity, he could thank the misguided "anti-Communist" groups which had worked to prevent the committee from broadening its authority.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has displayed remarkable durability under constant attack from the left during the 30 years of its existence. It has suffered its greatest setback from those who profess to be its stoutest supporters.

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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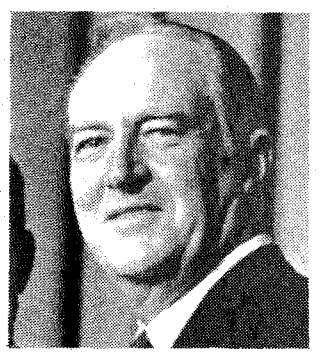
The Nixon Cabinet



Secretary of State
William P. Rogers

U.S. attorney general in the Eisenhower Administration, now a senior partner of the law firm of Royall, Koegel, Rogers and Wells in New York and Washington. A longtime friend of the President-elect, he has little experience in the foreign policy field apart from his firm's many international law cases.

Secretary of the Treasury
David M. Kennedy

Mr. Kennedy, 63, is chairman of the board of the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Co. of Chicago. He has served on the staff of the board of governors of the Federal Reserve System and was a special assistant to the secretary of the treasury in the Eisenhower Administration. He is considered a fiscal conservative.

Secretary of Defense
Melvin R. Laird

Eight-term Republican congressman from Wisconsin, Laird is chairman of the House Republican Conference. He is also ranking minority member of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Education and Welfare and second-ranking minority member of the Defense subcommittee. A strong conservative, he is the author of **A House Divided: America's Strategy Gap** and editor of **The Conservative Papers.**

Attorney General
John N. Mitchell

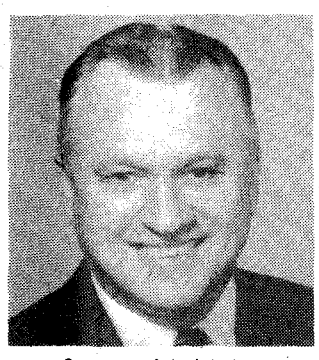
Senior partner with the President-elect in the New York law firm of Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie, Alexander and Mitchell, he was national Nixon campaign manager. Reportedly one of the main advocates of the "Southern strategy" that brought Nixon election success, Mitchell is considered a "hard-liner" on law and order and less interested in the sociological aspects of crime that seem to fascinate the present Justice Department head.

Postmaster General
Winton M. Blount

A self-made millionaire, he is president of Blount Brothers Corp., general contractors in Montgomery, Ala. It is thought that Blount, a man of unquestioned personal integrity and a stickler for detail, will bring to the Post Office an appreciation for modern business techniques and a striving for perfection that has been so sorely lacking in the country's mail delivery operations for many years.

Secretary of Agriculture
Clifford M. Hardin

Chancellor of the University of Nebraska since 1954, Hardin comes from a solid, Indiana Republican family. Although he does not have a strong ideological coloration on agriculture issues, he does, like Ezra Taft Benson, have a good understanding and appreciation of the free market. He is a calm, scholarly person of proved administrative ability.

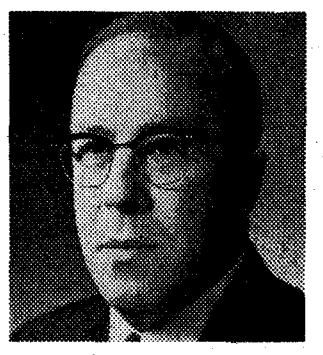


Secretary of the Interior
Walter J. Hickel

Hickel, 49, is Alaska's first Republican governor. Another self-made millionaire, he arrived almost penniless in Alaska at age 21 in 1940. In 1966 he placed his vast holdings, which came from construction and real estate development, in trusteeship so that he could devote full time to his job as governor. He is a strong advocate of developing the nation's oceanic and polar resources.

Secretary of Commerce
Maurice H. Stans

A New York investment banker, Stans was director of the Bureau of the Budget during the Eisenhower Administration. As chairman of the National Republican Finance Committee, he headed the Nixon-Agnew fund-raising program, bringing in more than $20 million from approximately 300,000 individual contributions. Considered a fiscal conservative and a friend of the business community, he has the accountant's appreciation for the financial facts of life.



Secretary of Labor
George P. Shultz

Dr. Shultz, 48, is dean of the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business. Although he holds no strong ideological views on labor policies and will probably be warmly received by both labor and business, he is, according to one associate, "far more conservative than most of the people who are in the field of labor economics, far more." His general view is that government should be relatively inactive in settling labor disputes.

Secretary of Health
Education and Welfare
Robert H. Finch

Now lieutenant governor of California, Finch is a long-time friend and political confidant of the President-elect and played a major advisory role in this year's campaign. In 1964 he managed George Murphy's successful senatorial campaign. He is a strong advocate of making greater use of private enterprise in the field of job training and Richard Cornuelle, champion of the "independent sector" approach, has been one of his close advisers.

Secretary of Transportation
John A. Volpe

The son of Italian immigrant parents, Gov. Volpe built $500 into the multi-million-dollar John A. Volpe Construction Co. He was named the first federal highway administrator by President Eisenhower in 1956, a fact that has caused some observers to fear he will overemphasize the importance of highway construction to the detriment of rapid transit system development, particularly in the East.

Secretary of Housing
and Urban Development
George W. Romney

The three-term governor of Michigan, Romney is a moderate on many matters and a liberal on several others, particularly civil rights. Nonetheless, he is wary of the oppressiveness of big government. His dedication to the idea of "strengthening American family life" may, however, cause him to push for massive federal housing construction. A man of unpredictable behavior, Romney may well be the one Nixon Cabinet appointment that does not work out.

How New White House Staff Shapes Up

Like his Cabinet, Richard Nixon's White House staff is a mixed bag of liberals and conservatives, politicians and technicians. While the full staff has not yet been assembled, these appointments have been made:

Top policy planners on the staff will be **Henry Kissinger** and **Richard V. Allen** for foreign affairs, **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** for urban affairs, Dr. **Lee Dubridge** for science and Prof. **Paul W. McCracken** for economic matters. Each man holds the rank of presidential adviser.

Kissinger is currently head of Harvard University's International Seminar and director of its Defense Studies Program. The German-born Dr. Kissinger has also been a foreign policy adviser to New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and is reputed to take a tough stance on East-West relations; as daily administrator of the vital National Security Council, Nixon has assigned Kissinger the duty of long-range foreign policy planning.

Dr. Richard V. Allen, considered a hard-line conservative in the field of foreign policy, will be Kissinger's principal assistant. Allen helped set up the Center for Strategic Studies at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., and later became associated with the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is the liberal Democrat of the Nixon staff, having served as under secretary of labor under President Kennedy and run unsuccessfully as a Democrat for president of the New York City Council. Under Nixon, Moynihan will fill the newly created post of director of the White House Office of Urban Affairs. Moynihan comes to Washington from his post as director of the Joint Center for Urban Affairs at MIT, bringing with him a reputation as one of the nation's leading "urbanologists."

Though he is a liberal, Moynihan's views often take on a conservative hue, especially when he insists that liberals have placed too much faith in the federal government as a problem solver.

Nixon's chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Prof. Paul W. McCracken, is presently a professor of economics at the University of Michigan and has a reputation as a "pragmatist" whose economic views are slightly to the right. His chief objective as head of the CEA, says McCracken, will be "progress without inflation."

Presidential science adviser Dr. Lee Dubridge is the outgoing president of the prestigious California Institute of Technology (Caltech) and a man well liked by conservatives and liberals in the academic community. He was thought to appeal to Nixon because of their mutual desire to see increased federal spending for scientific and technological research.

On Nixon's personal staff, the major domo will be **Robert Haldeman**, a California advertising executive with little political experience who will be chief White House administrator. Haldeman brings with him two proteges from his advertising firm of J. Walter Thompson: **Dwight Chapin**, who will be in charge of scheduling and travel arrangements, and **Ron Ziegler**, Nixon's official press mouthpiece. Neither of these youthful aides has political experience beyond participating in the campaign.

The man in charge of White House relations with Capitol Hill will be 52-year-old **Bryce Harlow**, a solid conservative who was Nixon's very first appointment. Because he held the post of deputy assistant for congressional relations under President Eisenhower, Harlow has an intimate working knowledge of Congress as well as scores of personal friendships. Harlow's deputy assistant will be **William Timmons**, an articulate young conservative who was formerly administrative assistant to Rep. William Brock (R.-Tenn.).

The Nixon assistant who will act as a "troubleshooter" in both the foreign and domestic fields is **Robert Ellsworth**, a former Republican congressman from Kansas and unsuccessful senatorial aspirant in 1966. Two of Ellsworth's first assignments suggest the scope of his new duties: he traveled to London to discuss international security matters with English officials and then returned home to review the government's efforts in supporting job training and retraining programs.

Chief legal aide at the White House will be Seattle lawyer **John Ehrlichman,** a political neophyte who was tour manager on the Nixon campaign. Although previous presidential counsels have played an active policy-making role—notably Ted Sorensen under JFK—it is expected Ehrlichman's role will be limited to legal adviser.

Two men who will serve as deputy counsel under Ehrlichman are both conservatives. They are **John Sears**, a former member of Nixon's New York law firm, and **Harry Dent**, a long-time aide to Sen. Strom Thurmond and recently chairman of the South Carolina Republican party. It is suspected that both Sears and Dent will concentrate their duties on the political sphere, with Sears working as liaison with the Republican National Committee and Dent solidifying Nixon support in the South.

The over-all "press lord" of the Nixon Administration will be the President-elect's intimate associate **Herb Klein**, who has been chief press officer in most Nixon political campaigns. Klein, the former editor of the conservative San Diego *Union*, will hold down the new post of director of communications, with his power extending over the entire Executive Branch of government. In his own words, Klein says his primary job will be to see "truth become the hallmark" of the Nixon Administration.

Heading up the Nixon speechwriting team will be **Pat Buchanan** and **Raymond Price**, the "Mr. Conservative & Mr. Liberal" of the Nixon campaign staff. Buchanan is a former editorial writer for the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* and a former adviser to Missouri Young Americans for Freedom, while Price sharpened his editorial pencil at the now-defunct New York *Herald-Tribune*; despite their contrasting ideological leanings, the two reportedly work well together.

Also assisting in the writing chores will be **Martin Anderson**, a Columbia University economics professor who is well known in conservative circles for his authorship of *The Federal Bulldozer*, an excellent, hard-hitting critique of urban renewal programs. The White House special assistant labeled the "managing editor" of the writers will be **James Keogh**, a former executive editor of *Time* magazine and long-time Nixon admirer.

Robert J. Brown, a North Carolina Negro businessman and Nixon campaign organizer, will be a special assistant concentrating on urban affairs, particularly Nixon's pledge to develop "black capitalism" in ghetto areas. **William Safire,** one-time aide to Nelson Rockefeller and, more recently, to Florida Gov. Claude Kirk, will also contribute speechwriting and program-planning skills. Brown and Safire, incidentally, are both affiliated with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference,the Negro organization created by the late Rev. Martin Luther King.

Some men not yet named to the presidential staff, but expected to hold some type of advisory capacity, include such conservatives as **Alan Greenspan**, a New York management consultant; Dr. **Milton Friedman**, noted economist from the University of Chicago; and **Richard Kleindienst**, a 1964 strategist for Barry Goldwater. Liberals include Dr. **Glenn Olds**, international studies dean at the State University of New York, and **Charles McWhorter,** a New York lawyer who played a prominent role in the Nixon '68 campaign.

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Reforming the Broadcast Press

By ALICE WIDENER

An editorial in the current issue of *Editor & Publisher*, top professional journal of the publishing world, points out that it would be wise for us to quit using the over-all term "the press" and draw a most necessary distinction between "the newspaper press" and "the broadcast press." This truly would be helpful, and our country would be much the better for it. As things stand now, the newspaper press is being made to bear the brunt of well-founded criticism directed at the broadcast press. This is utterly unjust, especially since the offenses of the broadcast press are becoming a national moral problem.

The big alibi for the broadcast press in its many instances of prejudiced or inadequate news coverage is "lack of time." The phrase, "Sorry, gentlemen, our time is up," dominates all television and most radio news discussion shows. On the other hand, most newspaper editors are free to give a controversial subject as much space as required for fair and thorough presentation.

There is no better illustration of the difference between the newspaper press and broadcast press than what takes place on Sundays. In general, Sunday papers throughout the nation furnish readers with a great deal of "in depth" news coverage and analysis. But "Face the Nation" on CBS TV and "Meet the Press" on NBC allow only 30 minutes for so-called discussion of major problems by several reporters with top figures in government and with other prominent or notorious persons.

On Sunday, December 8, "Face the Nation" presented to the American people the young New Left revolutionist Tom Hayden. He was permitted by reporter Martin Agronsky of CBS, and two other reporters, to get away with intellectual murder in a half-hour show interrupted by commercials. Thus it came about that at the end of the program, the arrogant and conceited young co-founder of the disruptive, anarchic Students for a Democratic Society was able to get away with an unchallenged statement about "the poverty around the world that the United States is responsible for."

Not one of the three reporters questioning Tom Hayden got in a word after Hayden's totally false allegation. TV time was up. And so his slander of our nation, which has helped cure poverty around the world, was left to speed its way over the airwaves without even an outcry of indignation from the CBS interviewers. Nor was "Face the Nation" followed by any CBS editorial refuting Hayden's outrageous allegation.

What is the harm done by such broadcast news?

Plenty. For Tom Hayden's unrefuted statement—sent out on airwaves by CBS—was grist to the propaganda mill of all those Marxist radicals in Asia, Africa, Latin American and the Middle East who claim that poor people in unhappy lands there are exploited and victimized by "Yankee imperialism." In letting Tom Hayden's statement go unchallenged, CBS reporters gave it tacit substance. And so, once again, our broadcast press was used against us hardworking taxpayers supporting half the world by our own fellow citizens.

Editor & Publisher says about broadcast news "it is sickening" to learn that TV camera crews did stage violence and fake injuries in reporting on the Chicago demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention last August. *E & P* comments, "If a newspaper reporter wrote a fake story just to be sensational, he would be reprimanded or fired. Television reporters and crews should be treated the same."

But they are not. And sins of omission and commission grow more and more frequent in the broadcast press. The CBS interview on "Face the Nation" with Tom Hayden of SDS is a climactic incident in a series of broadcast press offenses that have severely injured our nation. There should be a flood of protesting letters to the Federal Communications Commission by an aroused, angry and fed-up public.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

Shake-Up Needed

Nixon and the State Department

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

President Kennedy, in a rage after the Bay of Pigs disaster, called the Sate Department a "dead letter box," a "bowl of jelly," and told a reporter that "Bundy and I get more done in one day at the White House than they do in six months at the State Department."

JFK's outburst will do as a colloquial summary of what Richard Nixon wants to change at Foggy Bottom. The President-elect needs a State Department where Executive suggestions and requests don't fall into the file-and-forget box, where the nervous bureaucracy does more than simply quake in time of crisis and where the rule is for take-charge instead of pass the buck to the White House.

I asked Smith Simpson, a State Department alumnus and author of a caustic book, *Anatomy of the State Department*, how he would advise Mr. Nixon to begin. Like many other veterans of foreign service, Simpson has a grudging admiration for Robert McNamara, whose "whiz kids" shook up the Defense Department while the State Department under Secretary Rusk remained in an organizational snooze. Simpson said that McNamara, both at the Ford Motor Co. and the Pentagon, insisted on fielding his whole team.

"It won't do any good," said Simpson, "for Mr. Nixon to appoint just a good secretary of state. He must also name top performers as under secretary, deputy secretary of administration, assistant secretary for personnel, director general of Foreign Service and director of the Foreign Service Institution, this last being the training officer for diplomats."

But the examples of the Kennedy-Johnson regimes show that even if Mr. Nixon fields an all-star State Department team, it won't win for us unless the players are allowed to master their positions.

Chester Bowles, a political appointment, floundered for 18 months as under secretary and was replaced by George Ball, a lawyer for favor-seeking foreign clients. George McGhee took Ball's place as under secretary for economic affairs and the job was converted into one for political affairs. McGhee was replaced by Averell Harriman, who was replaced by Thomas Mann, who resigned the next year.

The rotation was dizzying. In six years there were five different men in the position of assistant for Inter-American Affairs. Mr. Nixon must choose well and then let 'em alone.

Another example for Mr. Nixon to avoid is the idea that newly established "excellence" calls for a scorched-earth policy on the past. In August 1965 Secretary Rusk denied a statement by the Singapore prime minister that the CIA had offered that little government a $3.3-million bribe. Later Rusk had to apologize. He honestly didn't know about the transaction because a department order required that papers not be kept on file for more than five years.

Thus as late as 1966, Rusk had no handy access to secret decisions taken by Eisenhower Secretaries Dulles and Herter. Mr. Nixon said in the campaign, "You can't name a place in the world where America isn't in worse trouble than we were eight years ago. . . ." But he had better fight off any feeling that he can bury old mistakes of whatever vintage by putting them out of sight and mind.

"They never have any new ideas over there," said President Kennedy, and he complained that State Department officials "are constantly smiling."

President-elect Nixon will want a State Department with more ideas and fewer smiles.

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In Defense of Punishment

By ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

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Amid all the concern about the steady rise in crime rates over the past 10 years, one possible cause is generally overlooked—the widespread loss of faith in punishment as a deterrent of crime. Few educated and compassionate people take this possibility seriously; and people who do complain about "coddling" criminals seldom sound educated or compassionate. Many intellectuals disparage punishment as a deterrent, and some of them even attribute sadistic and vindictive motives to those who defend it.

An example is Dr. Karl Menninger, in *The Crime of Punishment*, orginally published in 1966 and recently reissued (Viking Press, $8.95). At the end of a chapter largely devoted to the barbarous treatment of criminals in the past, he notes sadly that even today "the punitive attitude persists."

More often punishment is attacked on the grounds that it does not get at the "real" causes of crime. Last year, for example, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark told a congressional committee that in the long run "only the elimination of the causes of crime can make a significant and lasting difference in the incidence of crime." This sort of argument has become familiar through repetition, but that does not make it true.

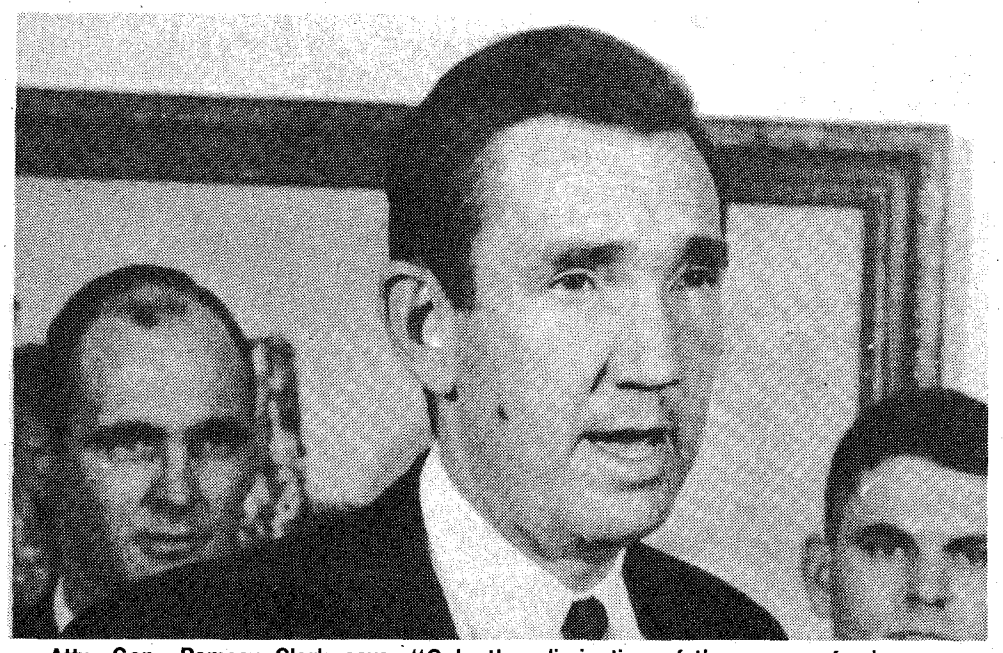
Those who argue that the way to reduce crime is to eliminate its causes sometimes suggest a fireman who declines to use fire-extinguishing apparatus and points out that in the long run "only the elimination of the causes" of fires can make "a significant and lasting difference." Actually, whether fires are checked depends on fire-fighting apparatus and on the efforts of the firemen using it no less than the presence of "causes." So with crime.

The causes of crime, moreover, are much less well understood and much less subject to elimination by social action than those who share Clark's viewpoint suppose.

It is often said, for example, that poverty is an important, if not the most important, cause of crime. But it is obviously neither a necessary nor a sufficient cause: some rich people do and most poor people do not commit crimes. In the words of Sir Richard Jackson, a veteran Scotland Yard criminal investigator, "The relief of poverty and a drastic reduction of economic inequality have brought no comparable lessening of crime. On the contrary, booming crime rates seem to be characteristic of an affluent society."

That appears to be so in the U.S. as well as in England. According to the definition of poverty developed by the Social Security Administration, poverty in the U.S. has declined as follows: in 1920 about one-half of all families were poor; in 1962, one-fifth; in 1967, one-ninth—5.3 million families out of 49.8 million. The decrease of poverty is impressive. So is the increase of crime.

Those who regard poverty as a cause of crime may be drawing a wrong inference from a true proposition. Since, in general, the rich do not commit certain kinds of crime, wealth might



Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark says, "Only the elimination of the causes of crime can make a significant and lasting difference in the incidence of crime." Prof. van den Haag disagrees and tells why.

be thought of as a cause of some law-abiding behavior. But it does not follow that poverty is the cause of law-breaking behavior. Water extinguishes fire, but its absence is not the cause of fire.

Some other familiar "causes" of crime were listed by Canada's then prime minister, Lester Pearson, when in opposing more severe punishment he proposed that "the state seek to eradicate the causes of crime—slums, ghettos and personality disorders." Although it is widely accepted that these three conditions are causes of crime, the evidence is questionable.

- The crime rate in slums is indeed higher than elsewhere; but so is the death rate in hospitals. Slums, like hospitals, attract people selectively. Both are locations, not causes. If the present slum dwellers were relocated, the crime rate, far from decreasing, might increase: residential propinquity of groups with very different incomes tends to raise crime rates.

- Negro ghettos have a high crime rate, but Chinese ghettos have a low one, as did the Jewish ghettos in Europe. In itself, clearly, ethnic separation has little to do with crime.

- Personality disorders, like poverty and other forms of relative deprivation, are neither necessary nor sufficient causes of crime. The known incidence of personality disorders within the prison population does not exceed the known incidence outside—though our knowledge of both is tenuous. Anyway, I cannot see how the government could "eradicate" personality disorders even if all their causes and cures were known and available. (They are not.)

We should try to change some of the conditions that are alleged to cause crime—not because they actually have much to do with causing crime, but because they are intrinsically bad. Bad housing is bad because it is bad housing, even if it does not cause crime. It is desirable to "eradicate" personality disorders even if they do not affect the crime rate. If—as I believe—the best of all possible rehabilitation programs is not likely to affect the rate of recidivism more than marginally, rehabilitation remains worth trying, and we could do better.

The evidence, then, throws doubt on poverty, slums, segregation and personality disorders as the "real" causes of crime, and therefore on the prevailing view that devalues legal as distinguished from social remedies. That this view rests upon weak evidence and defective logic does not, of course, constitute an argument for punishment. A cause can be made, however, from considerations about human behavior.

When laws provide punishments for crimes, those who commit them place themselves in danger. Responsiveness to danger is generally found in human beings. The mere risk of injury often restrains us from doing what is otherwise attractive. We refrain even when we have no direct experience with penalties, because of vague, inchoate, habitual and, above all, preconscious forebodings. Usually there is no explicit computation of probabilities, let alone conscious weighing of expected pleasure against possible pain. Risks and rewards are more often felt than calculated.

Unlike natural dangers, the threat of legal penalties is deliberately constructed by legislators to associate the danger to society—crime—with a danger to the individual offender—punishment. Contrary to what is often maintained, the effectiveness of this calculated threat does not depend on the rationality of criminals. They need only be responsive. And rats or pigeons in laboratories are responsive to dangers and rewards; they certainly are no less driven by impulses than law-abiding or law-breaking humans, and no more by calculation.

Most people internalize external danger and acquire a sense of moral obligation; i.e., a conscience. Apart from reinforcing the sense of moral obligation, punishments deter for the same reasons as do natural dangers. Often the natural dangers—those inherent in the commission of the crime—are insufficient to deter. Thus the fear of injury does not suffice to control city traffic; it must be reinforced by the penalties meted out to violators, which keep most people observing the regulations. However, where, in the absence of natural danger, the threatened punishment is so light that the advantage of violating laws tends to exceed the disadvantages of being punished (divided by the risk), the laws are disregarded (i.e., parking fines are too light). In this case, the feeling of obligation tends to vanish as well.

To be sure, punishments do not deter everyone. One non-responsive group may be self-destructive, another incapable of responding to threats or even of grasping them. Increases in the severity, or certainty, of penalties would not affect these two groups. There is no reason to believe, however, that all present and future offenders, or even most of them, belong to those two non-responsive groups. Yet this must be the contention of those who insist that more certain and severe punishment would not reduce the crime rate.

People act when positive desire is stronger than the desire to avoid the cost. Accordingly, the crime rate rises if—for whatever reason—the impulse to commit crimes rises and the average cost imposed by law is not raised with it, or is reduced. The crime rate falls when the impulse to commit crimes falls, or the average cost imposed by law is raised.

The costs of crime to lawbreakers are more readily changed than the condition producing criminal inclination. Further, the costs are very largely within the power of government to change, whereas the conditions producing propensity to crime are often only indirectly affected by government action, and some are altogether beyond the control of government. Our one-sided emphasis on these conditions and our undue neglect of costs to offenders contribute to an unnecessarily high crime rate.

Despite liberal arguments to the contrary, the broken windows of this New York public housing project show that people do indeed cause slums.

Dr. van den Haag, sociologist, psychoanalyst, and author (The Fabric of Society), *teaches at the New School for Social Research and New York University. Currently he is also a visiting professor at Vassar.*

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'Wholesomeness' Label Is a Hoax

Agriculture Department Is Failing in Meat Inspection

By OSCAR SUSSMAN, D.V.M.

The label "U.S. Inspected for Wholesomeness" on meat and poultry is a gigantic hoax. It gives the public a false sense of security, causes American housewives to gamble with their families' health and leads to unnecessary and avoidable human illness.

On Nov. 9, 1968, the U.S. Public Health Service reported an outbreak of salmonella food poisoning involving 130 persons at a church supper in Shelby County, Tenn. Of 116 persons investigated, 98 had been ill. The organism salmonella *saint-paul* was obtained from victims, from frozen turkeys of the same lot as used in the church supper and at the turkey processing plant.

But all of these turkeys were U.S. government-inspected. Obviously, the United States Department of Agriculture is misleading the public when it states, "The circular inspection mark with the words, 'Inspected for Wholesomeness by the U.S. Department of Agriculture' is the consumer's guarantee of safety."

In fact, it is estimated that as many as one million Americans annually are affected with salmonellosis, a disease which is the cause of many of the food infection epidemics in this country. Nevertheless, there is an unwarranted and incomprehensible silence on the topic of meat and poultry inspection among the government officials who make the decisions affecting the health of the consuming public.

This veil of silence has prevented the U.S. Public Health Service and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration from saying anything or taking any action on the problem. One major reason for this is that any proper action would hurt the feelings and damage the prestige of the Federal Meat Inspection Program, the sacred cow of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Responsible officials have failed to answer this important question that was posed at last month's annual meeting of the American Public Health Association in Detroit:

"Shall the USDA continue to mislead the public by placing a *guarantee of safety* and a U.S. Inspected for Wholesomeness tag on products that contain salmonella organisms without properly informing the United States consuming public?" (This, incidentally, is the *only* guarantee of safety put on any commercial product by our government. If it were put on by a private manufacturer, the product would be considered adulterated under normal U.S. Food and Drug procedures.)

Federal activities in the meat and poultry inspection area have, of course, been expanded greatly in the past few years. A little background on how this has come about is most instructive.

In the latter half of 1967, federal meat and poultry inspectors were asked to go into plants not under federal inspection and find deficiencies in the local plants. They were given their instructions in a memorandum entitled, "Special Project Quick, Quiet and Confidential."

They were, for example, told to look into state-inspected plants and then,

"In your reports of plant 'surveys' it is suggested you use dramatic, graphic terms with impact, such as cancer-eye, pus, manure, disease, excreta, cockroaches, rats, flies, loose paint, cobwebs, rust, grease, overhead dripping sewer lines, toilet facilities, mice, flour, excess water, chemicals, excess fat, etc., *instead of other more acceptable terms.* Of course, you must be factual in your reports. Try to find evidence of contaminants on the meat if possible." (Emphasis added.)

They were further told:

"This should be done quickly and quietly in such a manner that no one is aware of the real purpose of your visit."

Congressional hearings were held following this type of obviously biased and only partial evidence-gathering. Self-styled protectors of the public health such as Betty Furness and Ralph Nader jumped on the bandwagon and aided in clobbering the meat and poultry industry. Soon Congress had passed the Federal Meat Inspection Act of 1967. And by keeping up the pressure, Furness-Nader & Co. earlier this year also got the Poultry Inspection Act through Congress.

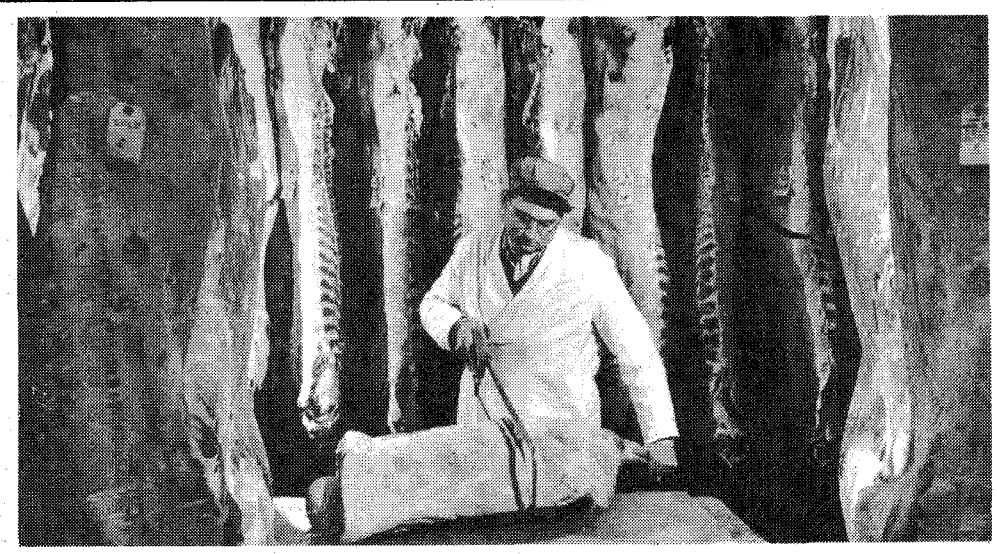
These new laws set the precedent that without having to show human disease evidence, the federal government is now authorized to enter into and take over whatever meat or poultry inspection systems it feels are hazards to the public health. Thus another of the duties originally delegated to the states under the Constitution has been usurped by Washington. The secretary of agriculture has, in effect, become a chief arbiter and protecter of human health matters.

The precedent set in the meat and poultry acts is dangerous. It assumes federal authorities know more, are better equipped and have the public's interest more fully at heart than any state official. Yet there has been *no evidence* to date to show, by statistically valid epidemiologic findings, that where inspection by the federal government has not been done there has been any increased human health hazard. These laws only set the state for further encroachment by a centralized federal bureaucracy and an accompanying lessening of responsibilities—and concern—by state officials for the protection of their citizens' health.

If the precedent is followed, other state programs in areas of health protection, agriculture or police functions that do not meet standards decreed by federal bureaucrats could, in fact, be eliminated.

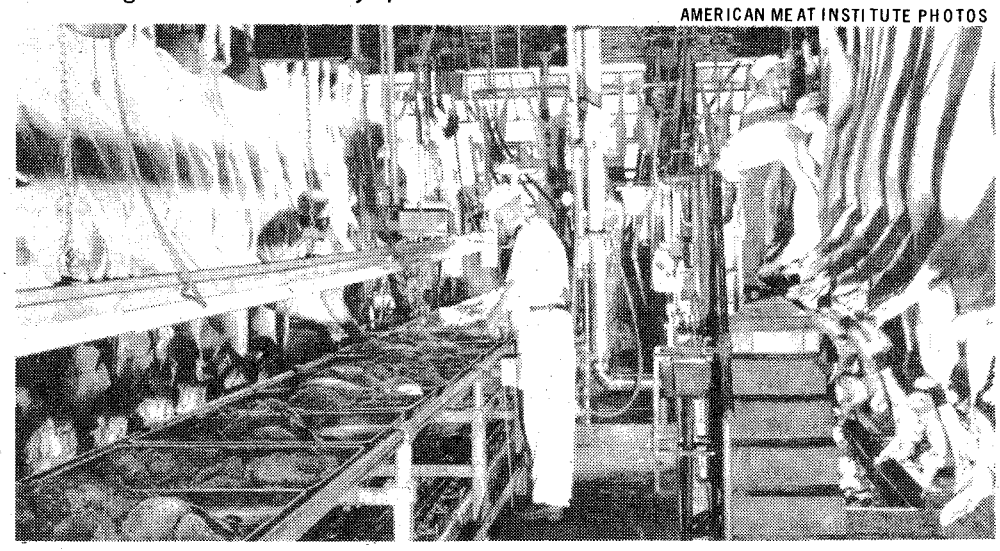
The guardians of public health should see that the public is properly informed of the dangers in improper handling of meat and poultry products and of the proven cross-contamination that has resulted in human disease from "U.S. Inspected" salmonella-contaminated meat and poultry products. They, in fact, should be truthfully labeled, not by mere lip service in regulations.

The recent Tennessee case is only one instance where a federally inspected product was the culprit in a food poisoning.



Although the U.S. Department of Agriculture claims its inspection mark is "the consumer's guarantee of safety," Dr. Sussman says the department is well aware of—but hides from the public—the fact that its present inspection procedures only eliminate gross visual disease symptoms.

AMERICAN MEAT INSTITUTE PHOTOS



Last year in Oxford, Neb., more than 1,000 persons became ill after eating turkey rolls at a barbecue. Although both the birds and the frozen products had been federally inspected—and labeled "U.S. Inspected for Wholesomeness"—it was shown that the turkey rolls had transmitted the infection. One wonders if the cooks and victims of the disease these turkeys caused felt they had been misled, deceived and put upon, or did they think they had been sufficiently forewarned of the hazards and dangers?

With full knowledge that the inspection procedures—many of them the same as have been followed for the past 50 years—do not and cannot at this time eliminate anything but gross-visual disease symptoms, men like Dr. L. L. Sanders, acting assistant deputy administrator, Consumer Protection, United States Department of Agriculture, state with regard to United States Inspected for Wholesomeness Meat and Poultry products: "American consumers will be assured that the poultry and meat they serve their families will be clean, safe, unadulterated and truthfully labelled."

In *Consumer Food News*, a publication of the United States Department of Agriculture, a typical USDA statement is made: *"The circular inspection mark with the words, 'Inspected for Wholesomeness by the U.S. Department of Agriculture,' is the consumer's guarantee of safety."*

In another publication of the USDA, *Agriculture Marketing*, further explanation of this unique United States guarantee of safety is made: "The object of the Federal Poultry Products Inspection Program is to assure American consumers that federally inspected poultry is wholesome—safe, sanitary, unadulterated and truthfully labelled. 'As part of the team of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Consumer and Marketing Service, which administers the federal inspection program, Dr. Exley and his staff of eight inspectors at the plant examine each of some *85,000 birds processed there each day.' Dr. Exley is one of those who make the circular inspection mark with the words, 'Inspected for Wholesomeness by the U.S. Department of Agriculture' a guarantee of safety.'"* (Emphasis added.)

There is a new disease spreading in the United States called "Consumerism." Its virulence has had an undoubted effect upon some governmental officials, legislators and consumers. All seem to be climbing the bandwagon but for different reasons. Consumers want protection and in ignorance have accepted blatant lies, misrepresentations, and distortions as facts. Bureaucrats use the gullibility of consumers to aid them in feathering their own nests and in playing the popular governmental game of "Castle Building."

Legislators, in order to ingratiate themselves with consumer groups and expecting the truth from scientists, are persuaded to pass useless legislation. This has occurred with the support of consumer lobbies developed many times by bureaucrats themselves. Such legislation has most frequently not been properly evaluated in the cold light of reason and with cost effectiveness determinates with regard to the real purpose of protecting the public's health.

An investigation will show no human can look at 9,999 birds per day and truthfully state such birds are wholesome and free of disease. In fact, it is doubtful if a man could pick up 10,000 pieces of paper with "healthy" or "diseased" written on them and put them in proper piles day after day—it is an impossible task, misleading and in fact worse than useless, for it provides a false sense of security.

There are some in the field of public

Continued on page 11

Mr. Sussman is a veterinarian and lawyer with a degree in Public Health from Yale's School of Medicine. He is a former vice president of the American Veterinary Medical Association, former president of the Veterinary Medical Association of New Jersey and of the National Conference of Public Health Veterinarians. He is President-elect of the New Jersey Public Health Association and was a senior instructor in meat inspection at Rutgers University. He has been a senior Fulbright professor and a consultant to the World Health Organization.

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Coming Up: New Battle Over TFX

By PAUL SCOTT

The fate of the long-troubled F-111 warplane—originally the TFX—will almost certainly become one of the first big defense battles of the 91st Congress.

The stage for this multi-billion-dollar showdown is being quietly prepared by Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigating subcommittee.

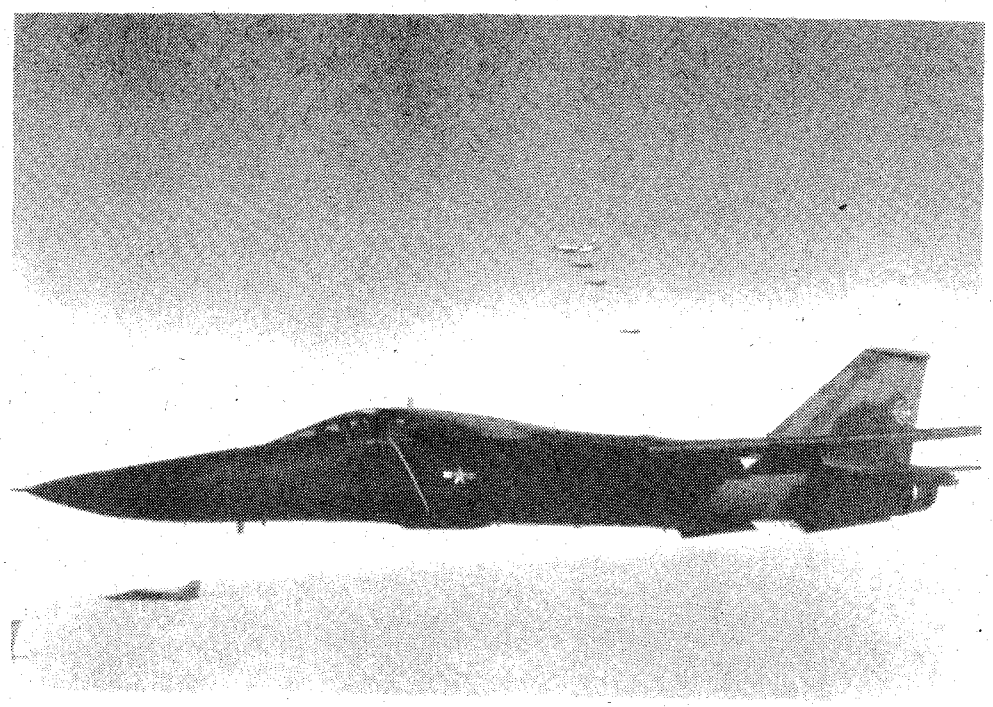
After five years of intensive investigation, the veteran Senate prober has ordered his subcommittee staff to prepare for final hearings in January on whether the controversial project should be junked.

Already, Sen. McClellan has indicated privately that he has grave doubts that a single plane will eventually be salvaged, although more than $4 billion has been poured into the ill-conceived "wonder plane" project.

"The Defense Department will be lucky if it gets one airplane that flies properly out of the F-111 program," McClellan reported to subcommittee staff members in discussing plans for his new hearing. "There is no doubt in my mind that this was [former Defense Secretary] McNamara's biggest blooper."

Designed as an all-purpose plane with built-in commonality to make it suitable for the Navy as well as Air Force and Army, the F-111's technical problems have raised its original estimate cost for each plane from $3.4 million to $9.85 million.

These problems, centering around structural difficulties of the swing-winged plane, caused the Navy's version to be cancelled outright, and recently forced the Air Force to cut back orders in the strategic-bomber version.



Highlighting the failure of the TFX (F-111) is the fact that of the six sent to Thailand for Viet Nam operations, three were lost quite soon after their deployment.

The fighter-bomber model (the F-111A), restricted from combat after three of the planes crashed in Thailand, have either been grounded or are now being tested under severe "flight restrictions."

In private talks with Sen. McClellan, Defense Secretary Clark Clifford has acknowledged that the plane's future is far from being bright.

Although he strongly defended the fighter-bomber version of the F-111, Clifford admitted that the experts are now debating how much of the overall, three-in-one plane program should be cancelled.

Under study by both Clifford and McClellan's subcommittee is a recent critical assessment of the fighter-bomber model made by Sen. Stuart Symington (D.-Mo.). Prepared for the Senate Armed Services Committee, it states:

"The F-111A has range. It has payload roughly the same as the F-105, F-4, A-6, and A-7; but cannot carry on combat missions those bombs we were led to believe it could. It does have blind bombing capability more accurate than the F-4 or F-105.

"But the F-111A is too large and too expensive to be used for daylight dive bombing, too sluggish and too unmaneuverable to risk in air-to-air combat, and too expensive to commit to the kind of action where a man with a rifle might knock it down. Nor can the F-111A do the fighter role it was supposed to be capable of. No one even claims that any more."

Sen. Symington was also highly critical of the strategic bomber model of the F-111, reporting:

"Let us look at the F-111B for SAC (Strategic Air Command). It is going to replace the early B-52s and the B-58s, but it does not have the payload capability of either—actually has shorter range than the planes it would be replacing."

According to the subcommittee's investigative reports, 105 of these swing-wing planes have been built by General Dynamics Corp. since the project was started in 1961 during the Kennedy Administration.

Of those planes, the investigators say, 11 have crashed, including three being tested overseas. Of the remaining planes, 89 are Air Force fighter-bombers, one is an Air Force strategic bomber, and four remain of the cancelled Navy test version.

Because of cancellations, the General Dynamics Corp. is now left with orders for only 337 of these controversial planes. Originally, the company had planned to build 1,700 planes at a total cost of $4.8 billion. By mid-1968 the program's cost has soared to $12.8 billion for only 1,300 planes.

Committee investigators say the trouble with the plane is in the basic box-like steel structure running through the center of the aircraft. It has pivots at both ends, to which the movable "swing wings" are attached, but it reportedly cracks after the wings have been opened and closed at high speeds often enough.

When outstretched, the wings are expected to give the plane long cruising ranges, with low fuel consumption, but at reduced speeds. With the wings swept back, the long-range bomber is quickly converted into a high-speed fighter plane and low-altitude attack bomber.

Top Air Force officials believe President-elect Nixon will order the F-111B, the strategic bomber version of the plane, dropped after he takes office on January 20.

Sen. McClellan's hearings are expected to raise new questions about the capability and the safety of the F-111's fighter-bomber model to cause the Air Force to make deep cuts in this program if it is not cancelled.

The Supersonic Transport (SST) program, now nearing the prototype stage, is going to get less money than its backers want for fiscal 1970, which begins next July.

In budget talks with GOP members of Congress, President-elect Nixon has indicated that for economy reasons he will slow down the multi-billion-dollar project until the Viet Nam war is ended.

Of the $300 million that Federal Aviation Administration officials are requesting for the coming fiscal year, Nixon wants that amount cut in at least half.

To put the new GOP Administration on the spot, President Johnson has agreed to recommend the full FAA request of $300 million to Congress in his final budget.

Aides say Nixon hopes to keep the program running at its current cost—an estimated $11 million a month. The first commercial flight of the SST is scheduled for 1976.

Nixon's plan could delay this flight time by several years.

The 1,500 m.p.h. Anglo-French SST, now scheduled to make its long-delayed first test flight next January, already has a long lead-time on the proposed bigger and faster U.S. craft. Its first commercial flight is set for late 1971.

★ ★ ★

The Post Office Department has issued its first "contingency plan" on how to deal with strikes and work stoppages that could disrupt mail deliveries.

Alarmed at the actions taken by the major postal employe unions in dropping the no-strike pledge from their constitutions, Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson has ordered key officials to prepare for any eventuality.

The "contingency plan" has been sent to regional directors, postal inspectors and postmasters at first-class offices throughout the country, and deals with various kinds of work stoppages, slow-downs, and related picketing.

While there are no indications that strikes are planned, postmasters and their key supervisors are instructed to be "fully cognizant" of the possibilities of work stoppages and what must be done if they occur.

"A few years ago, who would ever have thought teachers, policemen and and firemen would stage strikes and work stoppages?" stated one high-ranking Post Office official. "It is only prudent to be ready for anything. There was a recent postal strike in Canada and it could happen here."

Actually, the Postal Unions' dropping of the no-strike pledges in their constitutions is more or less a symbolic gesture to emphasize their discontent over present collective bargaining arrangements. The law specifically bars strikes by postal and other federal workers.

But postal officials are worried that the dropping of the no-strike pledge will encourage "hotheads" and "black militants" among postal workers to try to stir up strikes, engage in walkouts, slowdowns, and picketing.

Under the "contingency plan," each postmaster or regional director is directed to establish a "contingency committee" of key officials who are cognizant of the problems involved in a work stoppage or strike. These committees will have the function of advising and assisting local postmasters and preparing plans for moving the mails during emergencies.

In addition to the "contingency plan," the Post Office is also making surveys to determine the economic impact that a nationwide postal work stoppage might have on the U.S. economy.

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Continued from Page 9

U.S.D.A. Is Failing in Meat Inspection

health and consumer protection, and I am one, who believe new facts must be utilized as available to preserve the health of the public. We further believe the public must be informed but not misinformed! This involves integrity and semantics. The USDA uses the words "wholesome," "safe" and "truthful," but apparently without having recently referred to their actual meanings. The public should know the facts. The words used so glibly by the USDA officials and their dictionary meanings are as follows:

Wholesome: Promoting physical well-being, beneficial to the health.

Safe: Secure from threat of danger, harm, or loss, affording or conferring safety, securing from harm, not exposing to danger. Made incapable of doing harm, no longer dangerous.

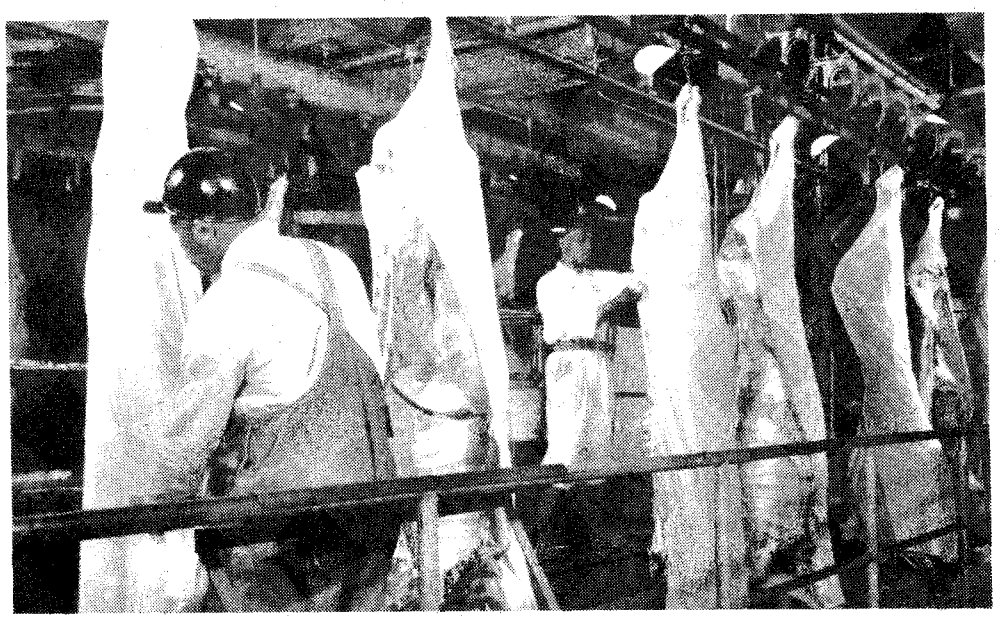
Truthful: Disposed to or characterized by truth; veracious, rendering reality accurately.

With these meanings in mind, it is incongruous to imagine the U.S. Food and Drug Administration and the USPHS, which profess to want not just to count the salmonella-infected humans but to prevent them from becoming infected, sitting idly by while the USDA openly states, "You can be sure the circular inspection mark with the words, 'Inspected for Wholesomeness by the U.S. Department of Agriculture' is the consumers' guarantee of safety" even when placed on salmonella-contaminated meat and poultry that have proven and continue to prove to be a major source of human illness.

Dr. Karl F. Meyer, Professor Emeritus, University of California at San Francisco, an outstanding authority on food-borne disease occurrences such as botulism, recently stated to me:

"I fully agree with your analysis of the available facts that poultry inspection as prescribed by HR 16363 for the main purpose of preventing the spread of disease from poultry to human subjects will fail in its purpose. It is an incontrovertible fact, overwhelmingly documented in the scientific literature of the past 50 years, that many infections, not merely diseases of poultry transmissible to man, sometimes followed by serious consequences in health, cannot be detected by observations made with the human eye.

. . . "Consequently, no guarantee can be given that the meat products which



Despite recent scare stories about unwholesome meat processing practices, the fact is that U.S. meat producers still produce about the safest meat to be found anywhere on earth.

reach the consumers are free from disease-producing micro-organisms. As you correctly emphasize, the public will be lulled into a false sense of security by the magic words, 'U.S. Inspected for Wholesomeness.' Under the assumption of safety, the consumer may deem it unnecessary to take simple precautions in preventing cross-contamination, even to cook the meat thoroughly before consumption."

When the new poultry meat inspection legislation was under discussion this summer, Dr. Berwyn Mattison, executive director of the American Public Health Association, sent the following telegram to President Johnson and some congressional leaders:

"The American Public Health Association wishes to point out that extension of present federal inspection of poultry must not be represented to the public as assuring safety of all inspected products. Furthermore, we believe that improved inspection practices should include more extensive laboratory examinations than provided for in HR 16363."

In spite of this, Congress overwhelmingly approved the legislation and the President apparently paid more heed to Betty "You can be sure" Furness than the American Public Health Association.

The tremendous effect of the *taxpaid misinformation* supplied to congressmen and to the public by USDA officials in this whole meat and poultry inspection fiasco was clearly enunciated by no less a person than Dr. Joseph Knappenberger, president of the American Veterinary Medical Association, who was concerned enough about this issue to state forcefully in his inaugural address July 1968, at Boston, Mass., the following:

"We are all aware, or should be, of the tactics used by the Meat Inspection Division in providing evidence for the new Meat Inspection Act in the summer of 1967. If you are not aware, I would suggest you read the *National Observer* for May 20, 1968. Read the front-page article entitled, 'Flimflam and the Federal Man—Tainted Meat and Tainted Evidence.' One would not be surprised for this sort of thing to happen in Cuba or the USSR, but not at home; it's a national disgrace. Congressman Dole, from my state, has called for a congressional inquiry into the matter.

"How far our society will go with this present complex on 'consumer protection,' or how much of it the consumer can ultimately tolerate, and how much he will be able to pay for, is as yet unknown.

"We need to get the idea of credibility and common sense back in government and regulatory agencies. They need a transfusion of integrity from the cattlemen. The only way we can do this, as I see it, is through the polls and then by questioning departmental appropriations."

The public and the Congress were stampeded into the 1967 Meat and 1968 Poultry Acts by skillful and emotional exercises in publicity, but not by facts. Consumer food protection activities at federal and state levels must be totally re-evaluated in order to get more for the taxpayers' money. The multiplicity of inspections and crossfires to which the meat, poultry and food industries are now subject—with no concomitant benefit to human health—must be ended.

The cost effectiveness of *every* program must be evaluated to determine if the goal of consumer protection can be met more effectively and in many cases with considerably less expenditure of the taxpayers' money. There should be more microbiological tests and use of pasteurization techniques, with greater emphasis on cleanliness, new equipment and clean water. Attention to these details would be helpful in preventing cross-contamination from one carcass to another and would be more valuable than the present visual, carcass-by-carcass inspection. A responsible Hoover Commission-type review, backed up with the knowledge that has already been developed by Bureau of the Budget investigations, could result in better protection—and savings of approximately $100 million annually.

Labels on raw meat and poultry products should read something like this: "This meat has been inspected and any obviously diseased carcases and unwholesome parts have been removed. Nevertheless, apparently wholesome meat *may* contain invisible, harmful organisms. Careful handling of all meat to prevent cross-contamination and proper refrigeration before and after cooking is essential to prevent illness. Recommended methods of handling and cooking are available from the USDA, Washington, D.C., or your local health department." Such a statement would introduce into the inspection and labelling system an element of honesty that is not now present. It should also be placed on meats inspected in state or municipal programs.

The meat, poultry and food industries of the United States should be commended for having produced products excelled nowhere in the world. They would continue to produce such good foods more effectively if subjected to less harassment but more intelligent leadership by the use of newer scientific techniques on the part of government inspectional forces.

A congressional investigation is needed to accomplish these essential changes in federal consumer food protection activities in order to give the consumer truthful, reliable information at a cost consistent with the value of the service.

How to Help Prevent Food Poisoning

Human Events notes with sadness that just two weeks ago in Jersey City, N.J., Mrs. Mary A. Kaufmann and her 17-year-old son, John, died of salmonella poisoning after eating a Thanksgiving turkey. Fifteen other members of the family who ate the same turkey were also hospitalized.

The turkey was "U.S. Government Inspected for Wholesomeness." It was probably mishandled in preparation or it could have been damaged by raw egg, or sausage in the stuffing. In any event, we feel it imperative to let our readers know the following rules for avoiding food poisoning:

- Assume all meat, poultry and eggs may contain food poisoning bacteria.
- Remember that most food poisoning bacteria grow best when at temperatures between 50° and 150° F. and that these dangerous bacteria double in number every 15 minutes that they remain in this favorable temperature range. Therefore get all foods out of that danger range as quickly as possible. For example, a few contaminated bacteria in stuffing, if left at room temperature for a short period of time, can cause you and your family to get sick. Therefore, keep all meat, poultry and cooked foods below 50° or above 150°F. In other words, keep food cold or hot, or don't keep it.
- Insulation. Baked Alaska is a perfect example of dangerous insulation. Since your oven temperature is not the internal temperature of the baked Alaska, the ice cream surrounded by meringue does not melt when put in a hot oven. The same principle is true with other foods. When cooking turkey, for example, the amount of the turkey, its depth , the temperature you start with and the distance to the center of the stuffing have a direct relation to the time in the oven and the temperature in the center of the turkey. The only way you can be sure that the center of your turkey—or other food—has been heated to a high enough temperature to kill bacteria is to use a good meat thermometer. Make sure thermometer is above 150° and preferably as high as 165° for all items such as stuffed turkey.

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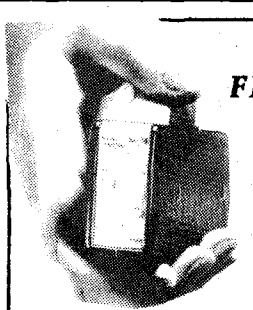

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Delano Workers Average $2.30 an Hour

California Grape Growers Tell It Like It Is

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

At Stanford University recently, two grape growers told it like it was to the student body. What the grape growers had to say was hardly news to anyone who has taken the trouble to journey to the San Joaquin Valley, and particularly to the town of Delano. The statistics they offered, which were not refuted in the sharp debate that followed, bear repeating. They are interesting to me because just the other day a young hippie handed me a leaflet which showed a starving baby, allegedly the child of a grape picker in Delano.

A release from Stanford University tells the story. It raises some interesting questions about those who, often out of the most laudable motives, are trying to boycott the California table grape industry out of business.

Militant organizer Cesar Chavez has so far failed to persuade a majority of farm laborers to approve union representation.

• Grape workers in the Delano area earn an average of $2.30 an hour, "well above the $1.69 average for the California farm worker, which is the highest for any state." Annual earnings for full-time grape workers range "from $4,000 to $10,000, depending on what they do." (Those who plug the boycott arrive at their low annual wage by lumping together full-time workers and students, housewives, and others who put in a few days of work to pick up extra money.) Said John Bree, one of the growers, "I haven't signed a weekly pay check for less than $100 in five years."

• After five years of trying to unionize the workers, Cesar Chavez, radical leader of the United Farm Worker organizing committee, has failed to win over the 30 per cent of workers necessary to call for a union election under National Labor Relations Board regulations.

(The union, whose real membership is under 500 out of a Delano work force of 8,000 to 10,000, claims that management "terror" has prevented unionization. This contradicts what hundreds of workers said to me in Delano. Shortly after the columns I wrote about the situation in the San Joaquin Valley, a representative of the union visited me and repeated these stories of management "terror." I told him that if he brought me any evidence, I would write about it in this space. I never heard from him again.)

• By busing workers from El Paso, students from Berkeley, and others, the union was able to win an election at two vineyards—Schenley and DiGiorgio. DiGiorgio, which had a $2-million payroll, has been forced out of business

Cesar Chavez, a hero to some and villain to many, waves to a Sacramento, Calif., crowd during one of his frequent rallies.

because the union cannot supply experienced workers. It has sold its holdings at $900 an acre—half the government-appraised value. At Schenley, the union has shown its sense of responsibility by ignoring a non-strike clause and calling 58 work stoppages and slowdowns. Schenley workers I spoke to told me that under the union contract their earnings had been cut by up to 50 per cent.

• The fight in Delano is not between the union and the growers, but between the union and the pickers. As I reported previously, the pickers do not want Cesar Chavez or his union. Leaders of the anti-Chavez movement are aware that unionization of farm labor in Hawaii cut down employment by about 50 per cent. And they are convinced that if the union persists, the growers will mechanize picking even if it costs them more. The growers are beginning to talk this way, though they prefer using human labor, which is more efficient than machinery in the grape industry.

• If the union prevails, life in Delano will change. "We are an integrated community," grower Bree says—and the California Farm Bureau corroborates this. Some nine out of 10 Delano workers are year-round residents—renting or owning their own homes—not migratory workers. Because of the diversified agriculture in the region, those who want to can work 11 to 12 months of the year.

The effect of the grape boycott has been felt not by the growers but by the grape pickers. This is a fact that many of the clergymen who rallied to the side of Cesar Chavez and his union are beginning to understand. As grower Louis Lucas told his Stanford audience, "Many church leaders are taking a second look at Delano. I'm not so naive as to stand here and tell you we're all great guys—but we're not all demons either."

The boycott movement would die tomorrow but for the hundreds of thousands of dollars being poured into it by the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers, and the pressure of retail unions on the large food chains. But these secondary boycotts, illegal under our labor statutes, are being met by court action. Even the NLRB, so wedded to labor's cause, frowns upon them.

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AFBF's Shuman Urges 'Reverse' Grape Boycott

Alarmed at the pressure organized labor is bringing to bear on food chains to stop stocking California table grapes (see column above), the American Farm Bureau, the nation's largest and most influential farm organization, has urged its members to launch a "reverse boycott." While big labor and assorted factions of the New Left try to persuade the public to stop buying grapes in support of striking grape pickers in California, the AFB wants its members to buy the grapes and refuse to patronize grocery stores which do not stock them.

The "reverse boycott" was announced at the annual Farm Bureau convention last week in Kansas City. AFB President Charles Shuman, himself an Illinois farmer, warned the 5,000 convention delegates that if the AFL-CIO's United Farm Workers were successful in the grape boycott it could be easily expanded to include many other farm products wherever the union decided to organize.

Shortly before Shuman spoke it was revealed that one large national food chain, Jewel Companies, Inc., had succumbed to union pressures and decided not to stock California grapes on the shelves of its stores in the Chicago area. So far this has been one of the major triumphs of the year-old boycott effort.

"We've got to fight pressure with pressure," said Shuman, as he urged the 1.8-million farm families who belong to the Farm Bureau not to patronize grocery stores affiliated with Jewel or any other chain which follows suit. The convention audience's response indicated that AFB members concurred.

Shuman had been preceded to the convention hall podium by Allan Grant, president of the California Farm Bureau, who told the audience of his "almost traumatic experience during the last year," as he tried to help grape growers in their dispute with the union organizers. When he finished, Grant presented President Shuman with a large basket of California table grapes. "Buy and eat grapes and have some on your table for Christmas," Shuman responded.

At the first AFB convention session arriving delegates had been greeted by a handful of pickets supporting the National Grape Boycott; by the next day, however, they had been replaced by AFB members holding a "beef-in," during which a prize Hereford heifer was paraded about bearing the placard "Grapes Today—Beef Tomorrow?". And the lobby of the convention auditorium was plastered

Charles B. Shuman

with signs saying "Grapes today—Bread tomorrow?," and AFB members from California distributed small baskets of grapes to delegates.

In another ploy aimed at frustrating the grape boycott, the AFB gave the cold shoulder to Kansas City Mayor Ilus W. Davis, who, like several other big city mayors (including New York's John Lindsay), has complied with the boycott by refusing to serve California table grapes at official city functions. The mayor of the convention city traditionally gives an opening welcoming speech at AFB conclaves, but Mr. Davis was not invited this year.

OVERSEAS JOB CUT—You can expect the Nixon Administration to make significant savings by cutting down on the number of U.S. civilians who hold government jobs abroad. The Associated Press disclosed that the overseas work force has grown by 50 per cent during LBJ's five years in office—from 129,000 to 200,000. In the previous five years, from 1958 to 1963, the overseas force had increased less than 1,000.

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Nixon and the Draft

The Young Must Keep the Pressure On

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The young, so I deduce from the mail, are going to give Richard Nixon his chance as President. But they are going to watch him closely. Says one of them, "Do you really believe that Nixon will abolish the draft? I doubt that he will do anything except respond to pressure."

Actually, in the young man's doubt there is all the hope in the world. For the pressure will be there, and it will be good to have a man in the White House who is willing to consider the forces that are quarreling for possession of the mind and heart of the nation. If the young want to get rid of the draft once the Vietnamese war is under control, it is up to them to make Nixon redeem his promise to them.

The anti-draft movement suffers from the misguided behavior of the likes of the Rev. William Sloane Coffin and Dr. Benjamin Spock, who think they can persuade people to change the law by pushing protest into extra-legal channels. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that the anti-draft movement has a bad name in patriotic circles simply because of the draft card burnings, it has a most impressive non-partisan or bipartisan support.

If the Students for a Democratic Society on the left want to get rid of the draft, so do the Young Americans for Freedom on the right. Ronald Reagan and Barry Goldwater are polls apart from Adlai Stevenson and J. Kenneth Galbraith on most philosophic matters, yet they all agree in opposing the draft.

Barry Goldwater (left) and California Gov. Ronald Reagan agree that once the Vietnamese war is brought under control the draft should be phased out. President-elect Nixon has much the same idea.

Says Barry Goldwater: "The most fundamental right of man is the right to his life. The use of force against that right—as in the draft law—is clearly wrong. It would also be wrong to assume that free men have to be forced to fight for their country."

Said the late Adlai Stevenson: "Every young man knows the money that could be saved, the new efficiency that could result from a volunteer system which calls on young men not to endure two years in service because they have to, but to choose it for a longer period because it offers advantages that seem to them appealing."

The actual financial cost of the draft is largely hidden from public view because it is borne silently by the draftees themselves. But it should be apparent to anybody on reflection that the male members of a whole generation, both the young men who are impressed into the Army and the ones who because of uncertain status are unable to get congenial jobs before their mid-20s, are compelled to sacrifice the difference between basic military pay and the higher sums they might earn in steady civilian careers.

To dramatize the wastefulness caused by the draft, the Young Americans for Freedom point out that if Cassius Clay had been able to continue his pugilistic career, his annual income tax would be enough to train and equip an entire company. The cost of maintaining 4,000 draft boards is terrific. And there is a vast wastefulness in the use of conscripts to do the sort of military jobs, estimated as 80 per cent of our military effort, that could be filled by civilians who would not have to be replaced every two years.

The late Sen. Robert Taft, as good a conservative as you could find, was against the draft; he called it "far more typical of totalitarian nations than of democratic nations." His wife Martha, who always came to the point without quibbling, said the draft was unconstitutional, an infringement of the amendment that abolished "involuntary servitude." Nobody could possibly confuse the Tafts with hippies.

With Barry Goldwater back in the Senate, the young may be sure that pressure will be kept on Richard Nixon to fulfill his promise about turning to a voluntary Army. The draft will not be abolished before the South Vietnamese have taken over the defense of their own country. But its days are numbered provided the young of the U.S. remain sufficiently aware of their needs to keep prodding the new Administration.

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Russia Threatens to Become World's Leading Sea Power

By REP. JACK EDWARDS (R.-Ala.)

The startling thing about Russia's combined navy-merchant marine buildup is that it covers nearly all the world's seas, not just limited areas.

The Middle East and the Mediterranean is one object of this buildup, but only one of several. In this area the confrontation between Israel and the Arab states is more realistically seen as one between the United States and Russia.

Since June 1967, the Soviet Mediterranean naval fleet has been increased from 40 to 60 ships, including a helicopter carrier, the *Moskva*, armed with surface-to-air missiles and torpedo tubes.

It is widely assumed that the Russians have their eyes on control of the former French naval base at Mers-el-Kebir in Algeria, as well as on the Suez Canal.

There can be no doubt about the Russian goal: to oust the U.S. Navy from the Mediterranean where we have held superior force for many years, and to gain the strategic and economic advantages which go with naval control.

Moving further east, we know that Russia is already acquiring base facilities in the Yemen and at Port Sudan on the Red Sea. Last May two Soviet warships paid an eight-day visit to the Persian Gulf for the first time in history.

A Soviet naval squadron also visited ports in Pakistan, India and Ceylon in the spring, and announced it is providing submarines for the Indian navy. Russian strength in the Indian Ocean is at least enough so that spacecraft have been landed there and picked up by Russian ships.

We are witnessing today the withdrawal of British sea power from the vast area of the world from Suez to Singapore, and we are also witnessing the Russians moving in to take the former British role.

But Russian ambitions don't stop there. Their merchant ships are moving into the Far East trade routes with surprising speed. They have established freight booking centers in Singapore and are working to capture the trade routes from there to Japan by cutting rates below those of the British, Japanese and others.

It is clear that while some of our U.S. strategy planners have thought it would be enough to achieve only an equality with Russian over-all strength, the Kremlin has been driving hard for strategic superiority.

It is also clear that in working for this superiority the Russians put sea power very high on the list of requirements. And by sea power they mean naval strength and merchant shipping together, along with scientific study of the sea as well as a fishing fleet of great size and modern design.

It is a national embarassment to the United States that Russia, a virtually land-locked nation, and a nation that was economically backward only 20 years ago, is today emerging with sea power that threatens to take top place in the world.

And yet that is the fact we face today.

U.S. sea power—navy, merchant marine, oceanography, and fishing fleet—must be one of the first requirements of our national effort, and I am going to continue to do everything in my power to see that our policies give sea power the priority it must have in our total national security.

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An Unfashionable View

Can the United States Really Police the World?

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Mr. Nixon will face some insidious challenges to American foreign policy when he takes office in January. His own sincere friends and supporters may besiege him with the worst of errors.

For example, it is currently fashionable for authorities to assert without fear of contradiction that "the United States cannot police the world." Critics from left to right accept the proposition that the United States must be selective in determining where it will fight in the future.

This generalization is advanced as the barrier to future Viet Nams. It implies that our involvement in Viet Nam is a mistake of judgment, that we should never have become involved in so remote a land, and that we can avoid such commitment in the future.

The argument that we cannot police the world is the alibi of those who think that we have done everything practicable in Viet Nam and that the conflict is simply unmanageable. It really means that we cannot defend the free world. It is a wail of defeat couched in a superficially plausible proposition.

The consequence of that conclusion is the surrender of free countries to communism—and that is precisely the judgment which these defeated souls have reached. They cannot excuse our expenditure of blood and treasure in Viet Nam to defend one small corner of the free world. They reason that we must let these remote areas go and concentrate our defense in the Atlantic Littoral —except Cuba, of course.

The U.S. involvement in Viet Nam has shown the need for our allies to help themselves rather than be straitjacketed by misdirected American policies.

If we accepted the premise that U.S. power had been effectively employed in Viet Nam, the other conclusions would follow. But the premise is wrong and so also is the entire train of reasoning. The American involvement in Viet Nam has been a tragic misuse of power triggered by leadership incapable of facing the reality of conflict. This is the war which never should have been.

If Mr. Nixon fails to recognize that the war in Viet Nam grew upon the errors of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, he may be persuaded that countries like South Viet Nam cannot be defended from Communist aggression. That would be a disastrous misjudgment for the free world. Communism would move confidently against the borders of the free world, except in Europe.

If, however, Mr. Nixon realizes that U.S. restraints on the war made the defense of South Viet Nam impossible, he will take appropriate measures to correct U.S. policy. He will make it clear that the United States supports full response by its allies to Communist aggression, including defeat of the aggressor. This had been U.S. policy until President Kennedy restrained South Viet Nam in the mistaken notion that he was limiting the war. He protected North Viet Nam from counterattack. He assured expansion of the aggression.

The United States can protect all allies covered by its treaties as long as those allies fulfill their own commitment to repel Communist aggression. The role of the United States in these compacts is to neutralize the influence of the Soviet Union and Red China so that our allies may with confidence exercise their own rights of self-defense. The United States becomes directly involved in local defense only when, as in Viet Nam, U.S. policy has first crippled the capacity of an ally to defend itself.

The United States must not concede any part of the free world to Communist conquest. The policy enunciated by President Harry Truman in 1947 is as valid today as when it was uttered. And Eisenhower and Dulles applied that policy through a system of regional treaties. Kennedy renounced the doctrine and reneged on the treaties. Richard Nixon has only to restore the sound principles of earlier policy to end Communist aggression and restore peace in the world.

The free world does not require policing. It does require security; and it can provide security for all its members when the United States resumes its proper role of leadership.

Solving the World Currency Disorder

By HENRY HAZLITT

The outcome of the present world currency crisis is unpredictable, but there is no good reason to be optimistic about it.

In refusing at the last moment to devalue the franc, President de Gaulle probably chose the greater of two evils. In order to avoid that devaluation he not only rightly made sudden and severe cuts in government spending and in the deficit, but he promised totalitarian controls on foreign exchange and on domestic prices and wages.

It is extremely doubtful whether he will be able to enforce such controls for very long. But to the extent that he succeeds he is likely to distort and reduce French production and investment. That will not be good for the long-run health of the French economy or of the franc.

France's Charles de Gaulle may harbor ideas of national greatness, but leftist agitation has weakened the franc.

In his broadcast to the nation de Gaulle correctly put his finger on the origin of the troubles of the franc—the riots, demonstrations and general strikes of last May and June, "when to escape from death through asphyxiation [France] had to impose enormous salary burdens all at once on her economy, crush her budget with the weight of suddenly increased spending [and] exhaust her credit in hurriedly prodigal subsidies to concerns that had become bankrupt."

Perhaps de Gaulle did have to yield to the demands of the strikers to get industry running again. But the price was exorbitant. Compared with an average increase of about 6.5 per cent in French wages in previous years, it is estimated that the average increase in 1968 has been from 14 per cent to 16 per cent. This forced rise would have bankrupted many firms and brought on mass unemployment unless there had been an offsetting increase in the money supply to increase demand and prices.

But France grossly overdid the increase in the money supply. In a period of six months the Bank of France expanded its own grants of credit by $5 billion, the biggest increase in credit in such a period that any central bank has made in recent times. As a consequence of this reckless expansion, the lack of confidence in the franc was such that the Bank of France lost more than $3 billion in reserves in a few weeks—also a record figure.

Instead of trying to control foreign exchange and to fix wages and prices, de Gaulle should concentrate on controlling his own monetary printing press.

In contrast to the French, the West Germans have handled their fiscal and monetary affairs with prudence. Their currency is trusted. Therefore, the flight from the French franc and the British pound became the flight into the German mark. During the single week ended November 23 the German central bank's reserves rose by more than $2 billion. But with the inverted economic moral standards of today, the French, the British and even the American governments insisted that the flight into the mark was all Germany's fault, and that Germany should revalue its own currency so that they could continue with less risk to inflate theirs. It was one victory for sound money when Germany refused.

The history of the International Monetary Fund system set up at Bretton Woods, N.H., in 1944 has been a history of chronic crises and devaluations. There is not a single one of the more than 100 currencies in the fund that has not been devalued or at least lost purchasing power during that period. The French franc alone has been devalued half-a-dozen times. When devaluations have been averted or postponed, it has only been by massive forced loans from other governments to the mismanaged currency.

It would not be difficult to devise a better international monetary system than the present one. But no sound monetary system whatever is possible so long as governments embark on grandiose welfare spending programs paid for by constantly increased issues of paper money.

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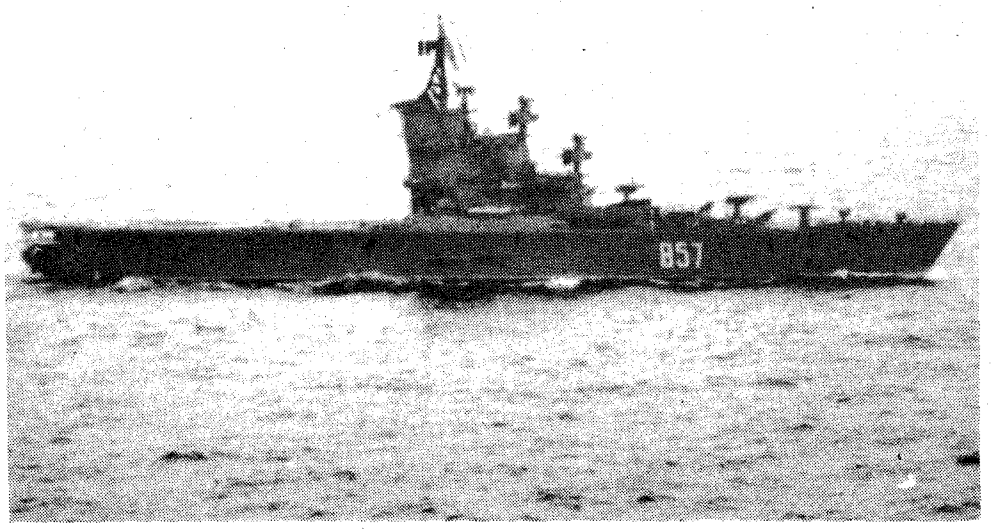

The Soviet helicopter carrier Moskva, shown under way in the Mediterranean, precipitated the entry of the two U.S. destroyers into the Black Sea to show the Soviets two can play the game of naval chess.

Ships Sent to Black Sea At Exactly the Right Time

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

The announcement that President Johnson sent two U.S. destroyers into the Black Sea for a "routine cruise" comes at the right moment. It was an intimation to Kosygin that two can play the same game.

Two destroyers, even though well armed against enemy submarines, are of course no equivalent of the 50-ship Soviet fleet now spreading through the Mediterranean Sea from Egypt to Algeria. But it is a gesture in the right direction. It could signify that after so many years in positions of power LBJ and Secretary Rusk realize that only acts impress Moscow: Words are merely tools to hide intentions.

The United States is unfortunately somewhat handicapped by the Montreux convention which gives special privileges in passing through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to Black Sea countries. The United States had an observer at the Montreux Conference but never signed the convention.

Turkey, however, did—and Turkey controls the Straits. The agreement compels the Turks to allow the Russians in time of peace to send as many warships as they like into the Mediterranean and, naturally, gives Turkey and the other Black Sea countries the right to maintain as many ships as they like in the sea.

Therefore, it might perhaps be better for the United States to place a couple of carriers under Turkish control and announce that these will remain in the Black Sea as long as the Russians stay in the Mediterranean. Turkey has two or three ports which could serve as naval bases.

Naturally, any such move would elicit howls of rage and indignation from Moscow, which has never admitted the right of the "imperialist" gander to share the rights of the Communist goose. But any such screams would merely convince this newsman that Washington is finally on the right track.

A second equally effective move on our part would be constituting and maintaining a new American fleet in the Indian Ocean. Some years ago the Navy Department sent a cruiser to make a preliminary study of the entire area from the Persian Gulf to the Andaman Islands. President Kennedy's riff with Pakistan probably cost us Ayub Khan's support of any such idea (or use of Pakistani ports). But Iran certainly, and India presumably, would welcome an American fleet that would replace the withdrawing British.

It is in fact highly possible that the presence of a NATO force in the Black Sea and an American fleet in the Indian Ocean would thwart the Soviet plan of extending political and economic control over the Arab countries with their, for Europe, vital oil reserves. Even if it did not, it would be a timely warning to the Red imperialists to refrain from any military action in the Mediterranean or from encouraging another Arab attack against Israel.

The trouble is, any such policy is out of harmony with the Johnson-Rusk policy of further disarmament agreements with the Soviet Union. It might blast whatever hope these Americans have of a successful, last-minute summit meeting between Johnson and Kosygin. It could end further American pressure to keep allies like Germany and Italy permanently without those nuclear weapons which alone count in today's power conflict.

But since to me no such agreements with Moscow will make sense until the Soviets show by their actions that they have renounced their basic intention of creating a worldwide international proletarian dictatorship, as emphasized on Nov. 7, 1968, by no less an authority than First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers K. T. Masurov, in a report to the Soviet peoples, I can only hope that the Russians will either refuse the proffered summit meeting or put conditions which Johnson and Rusk cannot accept.

There will be plenty of opportunity to reach agreements with Moscow when we have transformed NATO into a partnership with a common policy and a position of military preponderance.

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'But the Judges Had Changed'

Should federal judges be reconfirmed?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

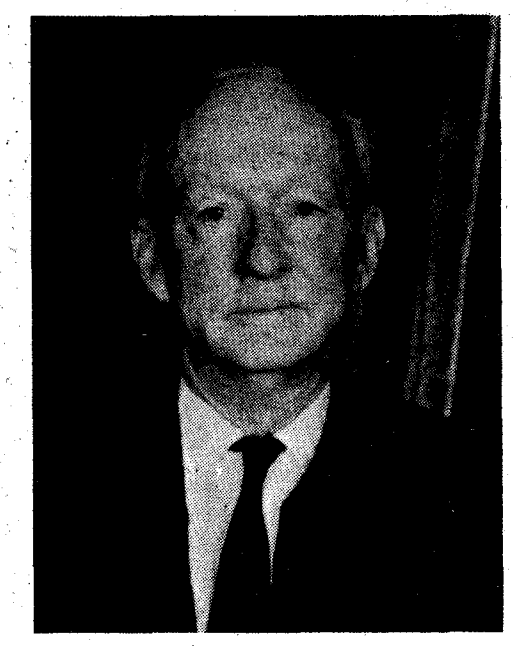
Justice Hugo Black provided a remarkably revealing picture of the continuing conflict between reality and fantasy in the judicial interpretation of our Constitution. At one point he was filled with absolute candor, at another with absolute hokum. It is a familiar condition with judges.

The hokum emerged when Black's television interviewers asked about the spate of Supreme Court opinions in the field of criminal law. Hadn't the court made it tougher to get convictions of criminals?

Black responded with a look of pure innocence. Why, boss, he seemed to be saying, there's nobody here but us chickens. Had the court itself done this? Not at all! It was the Constitution that demanded these decisions. And the Constitution, not the court, should take the credit.

Black's response was in the classic tradition. The old theory—and the enduring myth—is that judges bear the same relationship to the Constitution that high priests maintain with God almighty. Their chief function, that is to say, is to pass along revealed religion. In this view, they do not "make" law; the law has been there all along. They simply lay a given proposition beside the Constitution, and the Constitution settles the issue.

Charles Evans Hughes exploded this metaphysical bubble more than 60 years ago. The Constitution, he said, "is what the judges say it is." Mr. Justice Black, in his moment of candor, acknowledged the same thing. He was asked about the court's reversal on the



Associate Justice Hugo Black is a good example of the fallability of legal interpretation.

principle of school segregation. After all, he was reminded, nothing in the Constitution had changed between *Plessy vs. Ferguson* in 1896 and *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954.

True enough, said Black, abandoning metaphysics, "but the judges had changed."

Precisely. There is the reality that all the mystic abracadabra cannot obscure. The judges had changed. In that simple truth lies the very essence of our constitutional law.

We like to think otherwise. Indeed, Justice Black himself is a great one—when it suits his purposes—for insisting that judges must divorce themselves from their own predilections. Their task is "faithfully to follow the true meaning of the Constitution as actually written." He quotes with approval from *Ex Parte Bain* in 1887: "It is never to be forgotten that in the construction of the language of the Constitution. . . , we are to place ourselves as nearly as possible in the condition of the men who framed that instrument." He has expressed his fear of "the rewriting of the Constitution by judges under the guise of interpretation."

Where were these lofty convictions in May 1954? Black joined at that time in *Brown vs. Board of Education*. He said on TV that he would have taken the same view—that the 14th Amendment prohibits the state from maintaining racially separate schools—if he had been sitting on the court at the time of *Plessy* in 1896.

What, then, of the intentions of the framers of that amendment? The judges who united in *Plessy*—White, Brown, Fuller, Field, Gray, Shiras and Peckham—were all mature men when the 14th was ratified in 1866. Were they not faithfully following the meaning of the Constitution as written? They had the same phrase before them for interpretation: Equal protection of the laws. In 1896 they read it to mean that segregated schools were "a valid exercise of legislative power." Did this not fix the meaning of the Constitution?

Not at all—because the high priests of Plessy were the old high priests. They were yesterday's judges. Black could not have stated the truth more clearly. By 1954, "the judges had changed." And the Constitution, as a practical matter, had changed with them. It will change again.

Black's candor prompts me at last to a recommendation I have resisted for 25 years as an amateur student of law and government. The time has come, I believe, to alter the arrangement by which federal judges serve for life, subject only to the scarecrow threat of impeachment. A new system ought to be adopted by which reconfirmation would be required at regular intervals of, say, six to 10 years. In its application, such a procedure might prove to be merely perfunctory, but it would give the people, through the Senate, some further check upon changing men, changing minds, and changing Constitutions.

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SEN. ROBERT BYRD (D.-W.Va.) has called upon the Nixon Administration to repeal "totally unrealistic regulations" recently adopted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The HEW orders, quietly released after the election, direct local welfare departments to accept the word of relief applicants that they need help and cut out "dehumanizing" investigations. Such a policy, Byrd said, would "encourage and reward cheating and deceit, and greatly increase the number of ineligibles on the welfare rolls."

□ □ □

"VIOLENT REVOLUTIONS do not so much redistribute wealth as destroy it. There may be a redivision of the land, but the natural inequality of men soon recreates an inequality of possions and privileges. The only real revolution is in the enlightenment of the mind and the improvement of character. The only real emancipation is individual, and the only real revolutionists are philosophers and saints."—By Will and Ariel Durant, *The Lessons of History*

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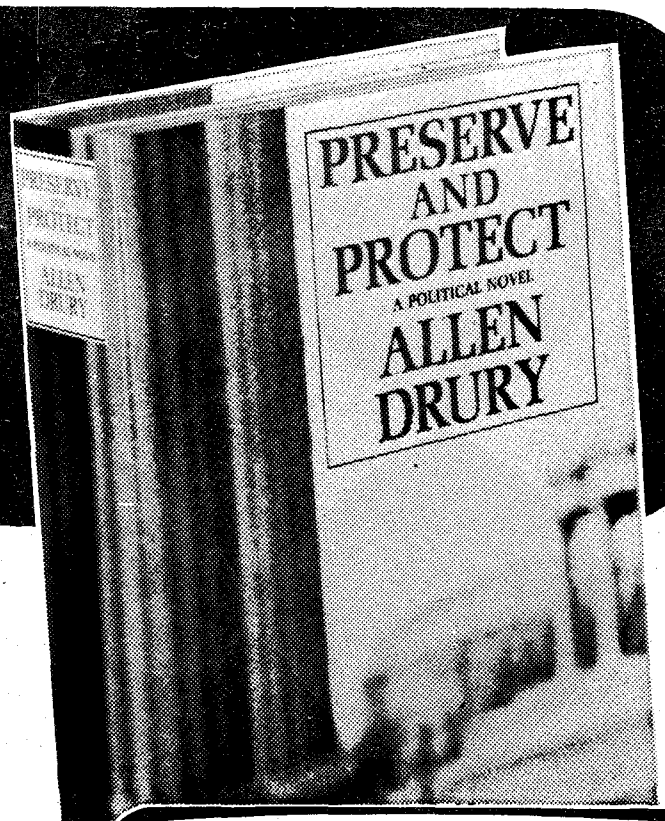

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Now the flag-draped coffin was inching up the soft green hill toward Arlington National Cemetery. It held the remains of Harley M. Hudson, who two days before had been President of the United States. The muffled drums rolled their relentless beat. Suddenly, shattering the hush, another hearse careened alongside Harley Hudson's. Another cortege, this one with horns blaring, riders screaming, placards waving.

The next fifteen minutes horrified the nation and the world. Cars in the opposing group wore the white dove of COMFORT, the clenched fist of DEFY, the flaming torch of KEEP — the same extremists who had rioted at the gates of the White House the night before last. The passengers, made up about equally of whites and blacks, aimed their cars at the caisson and the limousines, screeching obscenities. Then they broke into a chant that told the world what they thought of Harley Hudson — and what they meant to do with his coffin: "INTO THE DITCH, YOU SON OF A BITCH! INTO THE DITCH, YOU SON OF A BITCH!"

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On May 19, 1968 the New York Times reported that Allen Drury had issued "a bitter attack" on McCall's magazine and on Norman Cousins, chairman of the editorial committee of the McCall Corporation and editor of Saturday Review.

Mr. Drury blamed Mr. Cousins for the decision to drop serialization of Preserve and Protect after the magazine had paid him $50,000. "I am sure no book of mine will ever appear in McCall's while he is the controlling factor there, nor will he ever again permit a fair review of any book of mine to appear in Saturday Review," said Mr. Drury in a written statement.

McCall's editor James Fixx said the decision not to serialize had been his, "after consulting with a few people, including Mr. Cousins." After receiving the manuscript, said Mr. Fixx, he thought the book would become a bestseller but "decided it was not the kind of work to which we wanted to give that much space in the magazine."

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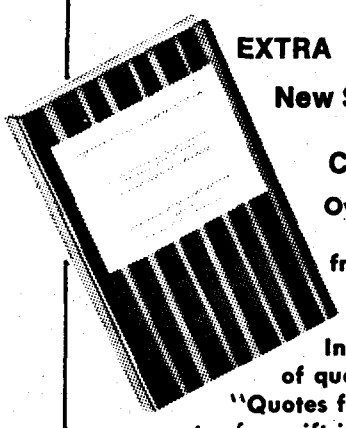

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